'TIME'S PORTRAITURE' : THE TEMPORAL DESIGN OF HAWTHORNE'S SHORTER FICTION

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

H. Cohen

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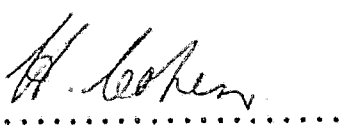

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ABSTRACT

A study of the shorter fiction of Nathaniel Hawthorne reveals a rich experimentation with narrative techniques, all working towards what Edgar Allan Poe, Hawthorne's first critic, called a 'certain unique or single effect'. The aim of this dissertation is to show how Hawthorne's concern with the complex nature of man's temporal existence governs both the theme and structure of his fiction. Time implies both change and flux, and is inextricable from the historical, social and psychological evolution of Hawthorne's characters. As theme, time is used to disclose patterns of withdrawal and return, the problem of the individual alienated from his society, and the tension between the realm of art and the world of actuality. As structure, time is used in various ways to govern the pace of a particular story and, most certainly, to govern the unfolding sequence of events. Hawthorne consciously experiments with different generic modes, with a diversity of beginnings and endings, in order to explore the inexhaustible manifestations of human time.

Chapter One establishes Hawthorne's own temporal identity. As an American writer of the mid-nineteenth century, he shares with his contemporaries the difficulty of forging a national literature out of the inconsiderable material of American history and American culture. However, particular attention is also given to the 'modernity' of Hawthorne's thematic and stylistic preoccupations. His most distinctive feature, and that which bridges the gap between his historical moment and his 'modern' vision, is his determination to establish a creative and responsible communication with his readers. This dissertation attempts to trace the relationship of writer and

reader in a selection of short stories and sketches. Chapter One includes a brief survey of Hawthorne's most characteristic literary techniques; symbolism, allegory, typology and the romance. The chapter concludes with a justification of the scope of the shorter fiction to provide a rich field for research.

Chapter Two contains a detailed study of Hawthorne's sense of the past. Emphasis is placed on the ubiquitous and multifaceted nature of guilt which pursues and paralyses so many of his protagonists. The chapter is divided into two sections: the historical imagination and the mythopoeic imagination. A close analysis of selected stories indicates Hawthorne's concern with history as a means of structuring human consciousness. In these stories we see his attempt to define his role as narrator, his relationship to his national heritage and his commitment to his contemporary and future readers. Hawthorne's concern with the historical past is also a concern with the historical present. For Hawthorne history is not merely a memory, but a re-creation, a re-enactment of experienced continuity. His response to the past, then, is not so much historical as historicist. Hawthorne's mythopoeic imagination draws attention to certain archetypal patterns in the individual psyche of some of his protagonists, and in the recurrence of timeless situations of the nation and the race. The myth that he most consistently, though by no means exclusively, explores, is the myth of Adam and the Fall from Eden. Finally, in a detailed analysis of one of the densest stories, 'My Kinsman, Major Molineux', an attempt is made to define the intricate and essential relationship between myth and history.

Chapter Three constitutes a survey of Hawthorne's interest in 'future fiction'. Attention is paid to the variety of narrative modes and

strategies employed in his experimentation with fantasy, science fiction, processional tales, Utopian quests, and apocalyptic dreams. It is pointed out that Hawthorne's view of the future is essentially ironic, wavering as it does between the nineteenth century extremes of progressive meliorism and retrogressive decadence. Emphasis is placed on the Faustian quests of Hawthorne's scientist-artist protagonists whose search for knowledge and infinite perfection is thwarted. The metaphors and symbols which surround and qualify the excesses of will and imagination are examined, and a pattern of human isolation is traced in this group of stories.

Chapter Four traces the positive and negative quests for eternity, adumbrated in Hawthorne's 'allegory of the heart'. The triumph over time inheres neither in an escape from temporality, nor in an arrest of time's flux, but in the creative acts of love and human communication, and in an affirmation of the organic flow of time in nature. The discrepancy between Hawthorne's moral and aesthetic vision is noted. In his greatest stories he is the devil's advocate whose imagination is fired by the benighted quest, beside which the redemptive vision seems pale and ineffectual.

The Appendix considers the alchemic power of the artist to transmute the temporality of life into the timelessness of art without sacrificing life's vibrancy. Emphasis is placed on the organic metaphor in Hawthorne's writing, and on the significance of the creative process itself.

Care has been taken throughout the dissertation to maintain a balance between structural and thematic emphases. The formal categories of temporal organization - order, duration, and frequency - are discovered to be a function of Hawthorne's thematic concerns with time.

To my husband, Geoffrey, and to my children, Brett, Peter and Pamela

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Works of Hawthorne referred to in the notes:

TTT ... Twice-Told Tales

MOM ... Mosses from an Old Manse

SL ... The Scarlet Letter

HSG ... The House of the Seven Gables

SI ... The Snow Image

BR ... The Blithedale Romance

MF ... The Marble Faun

OOH ... Our Old Home

AN ... The American Notebooks

EN ... The English Notebooks

FIN ... The French and Italian Notebooks

2. Journals referred to in the notes :

AL ... American Literature

CE ... College English

NCF ... Nineteenth Century Fiction

PMLA ... Publications of the Modern Language Association of America

What is time? A mystery, a figment - and all too powerful. It conditions the exterior world, it is motion married to and mingled with the existence of bodies in space, and with the motion of these. Would there then be no time if there was no motion? No motion if no time? We fondly ask. Is time a function of space? Or space of time? Or are they identical? Echo answers. Time is functional, it can be referred to as action; we say a thing is 'brought about' by time. What sort of thing? Change! Now is not then, here not there, for between them lies motion. But the motion by which one measures time is circular, is in a closed circle; and might almost equally well be described as rest, as cessation of movement - for the there repeats itself constantly in the here, the past in the present. Furthermore, as our utmost effort cannot conceive a final limit either to time or in space, we have settled to think of them as eternal and infinite - apparently inthe hope that if this is not very successful, at least it will be more so than the other. But is not this affirmation of the eternal and the infinite the logical - mathematical destruction of every and any limit in time or space, and the reduction of them more or less to zero? Is it possible, in eternity, to conceive of a sequence of events, or in the infinite of a succession of space-occupying bodies? Conceptions of distance, movement, change, even of the existence of finite bodies in the universe - how do these fare? Are they consistent with the hypothesis of eternity and infinity we have been driven to adopt? Again we ask, and again echo answers.

Thomas Mann : <u>The Magic Mountain</u>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> A deeply 'American' writer Hawthorne is also a peculiarly 'modern' writer...,His true interests and concerns, far from being antiquarian, anticipate the spiritual problems and discoveries of modern life as well as of modern literature. 1

A.N. Kaul's claim for Hawthorne's modernity is endorsed by a number of critics. Waggoner finds Hawthorne 'one of the most "modern" of nineteenth-century American writers',[2] and to Crowley his art 'has a compelling modernity'.[3] Kermode writes that

> Hawthorne has, in extraordinary degree, the 'modernist' sense of a future whose relation to the past is far more than ever before ambiguous; which makes his own moment typical of a transition from one structure of society, and one system of belief and knowledge, to another, in which the past and its types must be transformed. 4

Recent critical studies testify to the current revaluation of Hawthorne's writings: Rediscovering Hawthorne, The Presence of Hawthorne, 'Hawthorne in Our Time', 'Hawthorne Revisited'.[5]

Hawthorne's modernity lies in his preoccupation with the psychological and spiritual concerns of modern man. Waggoner claims that

> he explored the depths of existential anxiety, then countered Kierkegaard's 'Dread' and Heidegger's 'Nothingness' with 'Hope'. 6

He anticipates the French existentialist movement in his use of the alienated dispassionate isolato searching in a bleak universe for identity and knowledge. His characters wander through the shadows and ambiguities of a haunted dream world that prefigures the psychic labyrinths of Kafka. Josipovici links him with Proust, Mann and Kafka in his portrayal of the artist as 'a man uncertain of the propriety of being an artist at all, passing from idealism to cynicism and back to idealism'.[7]

But it is more particularly in his experimentation with form and structure, with narrative organization, that his modernity may be located. As Feidelson has observed:

> When the literary history of the twentieth century is ultimately written, it is likely that the distinctive spirit of the literature of our day, both in theory and in practice, will be found to depend on two factors: the emphasis on literary structure... and an unusual awareness of the linguistic medium itself. 8

Hawthorne's ironic self-accusation of 'an inveterate love of allegory, which is apt... to steal away the human warmth out of his conceptions'[9] has often been reiterated by critics whose deprecation of his self-conscious literary style focuses upon the moralizing intrusions of an omniscient narrator as well as on his use of allegory. Within the nineteenth-century tradition of the realistic novel these devices were regarded as antiquated and artificial, depriving the work of its life-like illusion. It is however these very artifices that inform Hawthorne's work with a modernity and paradoxically with veracity. As Harry Levin has observed:

> Fiction approximates truth, not by concealing art but by exposing artifice. The novelist finds it harder to introduce fresh observations than to adopt the conventions of other novelists, easier to imitate literature than to imitate life. But a true novel imitates critically, not conventionally; hence it becomes a parody of other novels, an exception to prove the rule that fiction is untrue. 10

The common denominator in all this criticism is the problem of time as it relates to the writer, his works and his readers. 'The demand that time shall be taken seriously is one of the fundamental notes of modernism.'[11] Hawthorne does indeed take time seriously. He knows that fiction, by its very nature is a temporal art, 'for time is the medium of narration, as it is the medium of life'.[12] The writer's temporal

shaping of his work is evident in the thematic, structural and linguistic patterns he selects. His selection is governed partially by literary norms and conventions, but in the hands of a 'Master Genius' who is

> destined to fulfil the great mission of creating an American literature, hewing it, as it were, out of the unwrought granite of our intellectual quarries,

these conventions are miraculously transmogrified into 'a guise altogether new'.[13] Hawthorne exploits the popular generic modes of his day. He writes historical romances and gothic tales which were enjoying a great vogue in the early nineteenth century. But he adapts their sensational, marvellous, legendary and melodramatic effects in order to express the psychological and moral 'truth of the human heart'.[14] As Richard Chase says:

> In his writings romance was made for the first time to respond to the particular demands of an American imagination and to mirror, in certain limited ways, the American mind. 15

Hawthorne avails himself of the imaginative outlook inherent in the orthodox allegory and symbolism of the Puritans without adopting their rigid legalism and intolerant religiosity. He absorbs the tendency of Transcendentalism to see a spiritual significance in every natural fact, without accepting their quasi-religious vision of human perfectibility. Whereas the Puritan angle of vision focuses on a guilt-laden past, the Transcendentalists gaze into a hopeful future. Hawthorne examines both the forward and backward glances of time-burdened humanity. The traditional modes are transformed to serve the peculiar doubleness of his perspective.

Literary language is distinguished from other forms of discourse by its self-consciousness. It is language intensified and controlled by internal laws and conventions which do not obtain in normal discourse.

All literary art whether naturalistic or not, is a fiction, an illusion of reality, man-made, artificial, and structured out of self-limiting and self-regulating devices.[16] Frederick Jameson notes that

> ...all literary works, at the same time that they speak the language of reference, also emit a kind of lateral message about their own process of formation. The event of the reading, in other words, only partially obliterates that earlier event of the writing upon which, as in a palimpsest, it is superimposed. 17

The relationship between writer and reader in Hawthorne's fiction is determined by its own internal self-justifying convention. Hawthorne's aesthetic vision does not merely establish a fictional mode; it attempts to create a cultural and moral atmosphere, and an audience responsive to a vision that is both personal and 'American'. Crowley observes that:

> There is something beautifully collaborative about Hawthorne's work; there is a noble humaneness in him and in his vision of the humanizing function of art. 18

Thus the reader is addressed as 'kind', 'gentle' or 'indulgent' by the writer who establishes his traditional role of polite author-narrator in his 'familiar kind of Preface'.[19] The aesthetic act of writing is also a moral and social activity, a means of 'opening an intercourse with the world'.[20] In this way the 'real' and 'imaginary' are not mutually exclusive categories but partake of one another in the creative process. The imaginary yet real world of fiction (the book), and the real, yet imagined realm of readers (the world) enter into a creative dialogue.[21] The writer-reader relationship is crucial in Hawthorne's writing and will be discussed in greater detail during the course of the chapter. What is important to note here is that Hawthorne did not anticipate an 'indulgent' or 'gentle' reception of his works. He was on the whole wary and skeptical of the reading public of nineteenth-century New England.[22] He refused to accommodate his

art to the limitations of his readers and ventured rather to elevate their literary awareness. If Hawthorne's fiction excites a perennial interest - and I think it does - it must be remembered that he is largely responsible for moulding and structuring an interpretive responsiveness in his contemporaneous and future readers.[23]

It would be a falsification of Hawthorne's achievement to displace him from his historical moment by simply appraising his modernity. Literature is after all both of its own time and of all times. It has a dual mode of existence : the literary work belongs to a specific time but it is also capable of renewing itself in successive generations. In other words as Roy Harvey Pearce claims, 'literature - any literature - is at once in history and above it'.[24] Pearce suggests that the act of interpretation must necessarily involve the reader in an historicist study of the artist's psycho-social crisis and his historical milieu, for the artist himself is 'the symbolist as historian'.[25] Hawthorne is such an artist; his sense of the past involves the 'use of history both as object and subject'.[26] Pearce concludes that 'Hawthorne is "ours" precisely as his sense of history is ours - or in his art, may become ours'.[27] Matthiessen expresses a similar view:

> An artist's use of language is the most sensitive index to cultural history, since a man can articulate only who he is, and what he has been made by the society of which he is a willing or unwilling part. 28

Significantly Hawthorne inherits the Puritan 'use of language' which he embraces, modifies, and makes his own. Feidelson outlines the Puritan bequest to the national culture:

> What the Puritan mind bequeathed to American writing, from the standpoint of literary method, was a special and extreme case of the modern literary situation: a conflict between the symbolic mode of perception, of which our very language is a record, and a world of sheer abstractions certified as 'real'. 29.

This conflict between the real and the symbolic, between fact and fiction, absorbs Hawthorne throughout his career. He vacillates between devotion and hostility to the material world. At times he disparages his fiction for its lack of the 'habiliments of flesh and blood';[30] at other times he dispenses with the 'iron fetters, which we call truth and reality'[31] in his search for a psychological and imaginative verity that is 'truer and more real, than what we can see with the eyes, and touch with the finger'.[32] Symbolic language enables him to discover the eternal truths that are concealed beneath the temporality of human lives.

Perhaps the figure closest to Hawthorne intellectually is Jonathon Edwards (1703-1758), a deeply pious Puritan who nevertheless possessed an enlightened grasp of modern scientific theories and anticipated the symbolic consciousness of transcendentalism. He was an exponent of an epistemology of experience and strove to validate the language of direct perception. Unlike his Puritan forbears he discovered a figurative language in Nature as well as in the Bible:

> There is really...an analogy or consent between the beauty of the skies, trees, fields, flowers, etc., and spiritual excellencies. 33

Although Hawthorne was skeptical of a good deal of transcendental idealism he often paralleled both its ideas and its language. After describing the reflection he had observed in the water of the Concord River, he wrote:

> I am half convinced that the reflection is indeed the reality, the real thing which Nature imperfectly images to our grosser sense. At any rate, the disembodied shadow is nearest to the soul. 34

The transcendental mode of symbolic perception is referred to in 'The Old Manse' (1846) where he describes the miraculous unfolding of lily blooms as 'a sight not to be hoped for, unless when a poet adjusts his inward eye to a proper focus with the outward organ '.[35]

Hawthorne's intellectual and cultural heritage provided a direction for his literary activities. His ambivalent response to Puritanism on the one hand and Transcendentalism on the other shaped his style and informed his moral and aesthetic vision. The Puritan atmosphere was discouraging to imaginative literature.[36] And yet the cultural matrix of New England was a hive of learning and scholarship. Shortly after the arrival of the first settlers on the shores of the New World, the great New England universities were founded, and during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there emerged from these institutions a number of remarkable and influential men such as Cotton Mather, Benjamin Franklin and Jonathon Edwards, to name but a few. In spite of this intellectual flowering however, the perimeters of knowledge were very narrow, confined as they were by the stern Puritanical codes that dominated all cultural and social activities. There was an acceleration of literary activities during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century as is evident from the plethora of diaries, journals, histories, theological tracts, notebooks, but there was a dearth of fiction. Hawthorne comments ironically on this phenomenon in 'Old News' (1835):

> Polite literature was beginning to make its appearance. Few native works were advertised, it is true, except sermons and treatises of controversial divinity, nor were the English authors of the day much known, on this side of the Atlantic. But, catalogues were frequently offered at auction or private sale, comprising the standard English books, history, essays, and poetry of Queen Anne's age, and the preceding century. <u>We see nothing in the nature of a novel</u>, unless it be 'The Two Mothers, price four coppers'.[37] (Italics mine).

The Puritans censured the imaginative power of the artist; they distrusted his efforts to play God and to create a false world. And so most works of fiction if they were undisguised by the protective nomenclature of history or diary were frowned upon as trivial, irrelevant and even immoral. Such was the reception of Hawthorne's early tales and he summarizes the disapproval of his society and his readers in 'The Custom House' (1850):

> No aim that I have ever cherished would they recognize as laudable; no success of mine - if my life, beyond its domestic scope, had ever been brightened by success - would they deem otherwise than worthless, if not positively disgraceful. "What is he?" murmurs one gray shadow of my forefathers to the other. "A writer of storybooks ! What kind of a business in life - what mode of glorifying God, or being serviceable to mankind in his day and generation - may that be ? Why, the degenerate fellow might as well have been a fiddler!" 38

Yet in the face of such opposition, and in spite of a nagging intuition that the Puritan suspicion of imaginative art was valid, Hawthorne persisted in his determination to write short stories and romances, believing that it was in the fictional genre that the true direction of literary achievement lay. It is as 'a master and originator'[39] that Hawthorne occupies a significant place in the history of American fiction. Henry James acknowledges his influence:

> He is the writer to whom his countrymen most confidently point when they wish to make a claim to have enriched the mother-tongue, and, judging from present appearances, he will long occupy this honourable position. 40

Hawthorne's difficulty as a 'fiction-monger'[41] was further compounded by the paucity of native themes. As Robert Frost puts it in 'The Gift Outright', America was 'still unstoried, artless, unenhanced'. The problem was national rather than personal. Cooper complained that there were 'no annals for the historian... no obscure fictions for the writer

of romance';[42] Irving remarked that America lacked 'the charms of storied and poetical association', the richness of Europe's 'accumulated treasures of age', and 'shadowy grandeurs of the past';[43] and Blackwood's declared in 1819:

> There is nothing to awaken fancy in that land of dull realities. No objects carry the mind back to contemplation of a remote antiquity. No mouldering ruins excite interest in the history of the past. No memorials commemorative of noble deeds arouse enthusiasm and reverence. No traditions, legends, fables, afford material for poetry and romance. 44

In his preface to The Marble Faun (1860) Hawthorne echoes these sentiments:

> No author, without a trial, can conceive of the difficulty of writing a Romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery no picturesque and gloomy wrong nor anything but a common-place prosperity, in broad and simple daylight, as is happily the case with my dear native land.... Romance and poetry, like ivy lichens, and wall-flowers, need Ruin to make them grow. 45

Paradoxically it is the very absence of the rich civilisation of the Old World that accounts for the distinctive explorative ethos of Hawthorne's art. James perceptively observes that in spite of everything that is 'left out' of the texture of American life,

> the American knows that a good deal remains; what it is that remains - that is his secret, his joke, as one may say. 46

Longfellow's commencement oration at Bowdoin College on the topic of 'Our Native Writers' was to prove prophetic. 'Is then our land to be indeed the land of song?' he asks. 'Will it one day be rich in romantic associations ?' Hawthorne sets about fulfilling the prophecy. He makes the land 'rich in romantic associations' and much that had been barren becomes 'a chronicle of storied allusions'.[47] Hawthorne is the 'most deeply planted of American writers, who indicates more than any other

the subterranean history of the American character'.[48] The multiple and complex 'truth of the human heart' is his wonted subject matter, his 'secret' and his 'joke'.

Hawthorne experiments with traditional forms and conventions in order to discover a new fictional mode whereby he could express 'the visable truth', which Melville defined as

> the apprehension of the absolute condition of present things as they strike the eye of the man who fears them not, though they do their worst to him. 49

As an artist Hawthorne has the frontier spirit. He strikes out into an 'undiscovered country' fraught with a multiplication of literary possibilities.[50] The old forms are restructured as he forges a new aesthetic vision which emerges from the past and thrusts into the future. This is the 'neutral territory' of the imagination, a present defined as the moment of transition between future and past, or between the temporal and the eternal. As Pearce puts it:

> The factuality of past life had to be transformed into the symbolism of present art and thereby be made part of the factuality of his readers' lives as they might live them. 51

Matthiessen suggests that Hawthorne's 'gift outright' to his literary descendants was his tragic vision:

> The creation of tragedy demands of its author a mature understanding of the relation of the individual to society, and more especially, of the nature of good and evil. He must have a coherent grasp of social forces, or, at least, of man as a social being; otherwise he will possess no frame of reference within which to make actual his dramatic conflicts. For the hero of tragedy is never merely an individual, he is a man in action, in conflict with other individuals in a definite social order....And unless the author also has a profound comprehension of the mixed nature of life,of the fact that even the most perfect man cannot be wholly good, any conflicts that he creates will not give the illusion of human reality...Tragedy must likewise contain a recognition that man, pitiful as he may be in his finite weakness, is still capable of apprehending perfection and of becoming transfigured by that vision. 52

Matthiessen has admirably adumbrated the contradictions which have quickened and enkindled Hawthorne's imagination. Hawthorne records the tension between the individual's drive to be creatively free, and the limitations imposed on him by an acculturated society. He describes the dual nature of existence and the equivalent realities of human iniquity and perfectibility. Melville discovers in Mosses of an Old Manse (1846) this 'power of blackness'[53] which complements his own dark view of the Manichaean co-existence of benign and malevolent forces. Hawthorne thus shares his tragic vision with his fellow artist and countryman, with whom he could talk, as he once said, 'about time and eternity'.[54]

R.B. Lewis has commented on the theme of time in Hawthorne:

> His involvement with time, always profound, had always been notably ambiguous. It was not a metaphysical interest; Hawthorne had been concerned not with the ontological status of time, but with its contents and effects: not with time as a concept, but with the coloration it lent to the things it perpetuated and with the value or the misfortune of sustained temporal relations. He had a passion for sources and beginnings, for traditions and continuities. 55

Lewis is correct in saying that Hawthorne was not interested in 'time as a concept'. His unrelenting stance against abstraction is resolutely announced in 'Old News':

> All philosophy that would abstract mankind from the present is no more than words. 56

It is not that he has no metaphysical concern with time, but rather that he commits himself to the representation of the experience of metaphysics and ontology as it unfolds itself in human lives.

Hawthorne's overriding theme is the nature of man and the growth of human consciousness. 'What sort of a man was Wakefield?' he asks.[57] Consciousness, he knows, is man's understanding of the nature and duration of time

perceived through memory and expectation, for 'time and the elements have an indefeasible claim'[58] on all mortals. Memory is not limited to personal recollection, or to the psychological recall of repressed primitive fears and urges. It includes received history, the history of the family, the nation and the race. And it includes myth, the archetypal dreams, hopes and actions of the timeless prototypes of the human situation. Memory, then is the 'collective unconscious' of Jung, the 'universal memory' of Yeats,[59] and 'the depths of our common nature'[60] that Hawthorne probes in so many of his works. And it is memory that prevents human sinfulness and guilt from remaining hidden, forgotten and buried. Hawthorne inherits from his Puritan forbears a profound conviction of man's 'innate depravity'[61] and proclivity to sin. In tale after tale he explores the dark, secret nature of guilt, personal, inherited, real, imaginary.[62] He lays bare man's Adamic condition in the Eden of the New World; an Eden however, which must ironically erect a prison and a cemetery to accommodate man's fallen state, his knowledge of sin and death. In The Scarlet Letter (1850) he writes:

> The founders of a new colony, whatever Utopia of human virtue and happiness they might originally project, have invariably recognized it among their earliest practical necessities to allot a portion of the virgin soil as a cemetery, and another portion as the site of a prison. 63

Hawthorne's bleak, pessimistic view of human nature was not the view generally sustained in the early nineteenth century. America was regarded as a land of hope and promise, of untainted prelapsarian innocence, a land which had been delivered from the heritage of guilt and sin, and the evils of history. A writer in the North American Review of 1818 declared:

> We are free from any of those institutions transmitted to us from past ages, by which other nations are enthralled, and held back, and allied to the ignorance and vice of their progenitors. 64

This 'broad and simple daylight'[65] of transcendental optimism fails to vivify Hawthorne's imagination. His creative vision requires the chiaroscuro of mystery and ambiguity. To him the myth of Adam is the story of man's fall into time; but this fall is also a discovery of his humanity.[66] The dark and light forces counter one another and are mutually collusive.

There is no simple formula for the guilt theme in the Hawthorne canon. Acknowledged guilt may be cathartic as in Robin Molineux, or regenerative as in Hester Prynne and Miriam, or humanizing as in Donatello, enabling them all to affirm a bond with their fellowmen. Or the perception of universal guilt may be destructive and alienating as in Goodman Brown and Minister Hooper. On the other hand, hidden guilt is always destructive: Dimmesdale and Reuben Bourne are trapped in a maze of their own confused urges, the dread of exposing their guilt to the world, and the subconscious compulsion to reveal this guilt.

The danger of over-simplification is inherent in the language of critical discourse which attempts in vain to define the rich multiplicity of the language of poetic symbolism. In the following chapters I will attempt to avoid reducing to a neat formula the complexity and ambiguity which is the keynote of Hawthorne's fiction. The 'device of multiple choice'[67] is not a sign of weakness or evasion on Hawthorne's part. During the course of his literary career he asks questions about the origin, identity and nature of man, about man's place in the universe, and about his relationship with his fellows. He never discovers the answers and his understanding

is as uncertain and enigmatic at the end of his career as it was at the outset. In the preface to The House of The Seven Gables (1851) he says :

> A high truth...crowning the final development of a work of fiction... is never any truer, and seldom any more evident, at the last page than at the first . 68

The seeker after Truth in 'The Intelligence Office' (1844) who has a mind 'before which the forms and fantasies that conceal the inner idea from the multitude, vanish at once and leave the naked reality beneath', discovers ultimately that the secret lies in 'the desire of man's heart'. And the narrator who has occupied the position of a detached omniscient third-person observer, 'the Recording Spirit', assumes his first-person identity in the final paragraph, as he acknowledges the limitations of his power to probe the mysterious multiplication of human possibilities:

> What further secrets were then spoken, remains a mystery; inasmuch as the roar of the city, the bustle of human business, the outcry of the jostling masses, the rush and tumult of man's life, in its noisy and brief career, arose so high that it drowned the words of these two talkers. And whether they stood talking in the Moon, or in Vanity Fair, or in a city of this actual world, is more than I can say. (Italics mine) 69

Herein lies the paradox which confronts Hawthorne as artist. His 'burrowing, to his utmost ability, into the depths of our common nature, for the purposes of psychological romance' is his task as artist. But it serves only to increase his awareness of the inscrutability of 'the dusky regions'[70] of experience, and it is this mystery that he presents to his readers in the ambiguity and multiplicity of his symbols. The reader will discover any number of alternative interpretations within a given symbol. In this way he will participate experientially in the artist's predicament: in his quest for knowledge and truth he will share the incertitude and instability which affords ample evidence of Hawthorne's intense skeptical inquiry.

Thus the scarlet A may be interpreted as Adulteress or Able, or Angel, depending on the particular point of view. Or the letter may represent the plight of the Artist: Hester's artistry with her needle can be seen as her attempt to transform Pearl into the living embodiment of the scarlet letter; it is her effort to symbolize, to discover her identity and to create an order and a form out of the raw material of the American experience. Or the A may be a synecdoche for America itself, or for the Adamic experience in the New World, a modern type of felix culpa. None of these 'alternative possibilities'[71] is exclusive. The letter throws its lurid gleam 'across the verge of time'[72] incorporating in its emblematical aggregation past, present and future. The fictional time span of the romance incorporates Hester's past life in her paternal home in Old England, her present circumstances in Puritan New England, and it looks forward to Pearl's future as she returns to the Old World in order to affirm her identity through a recovery of her past history. Similarly the romance offers Hawthorne and his readers the opportunity of recovering their past legacy so as to understand and redefine their present existence. And the fictional world spans an infinite future as generations of readers will not only imaginatively re-enact Hester's experience, but will utilize the work's characteristic hesitancy and equivocalness to restructure their own world views, thereby extending the aesthetic horizons beyond the confines of the book's spatio-temporal frame. As Frank Kermode writes in The Classic:

> To say that the meaning of The Scarlet Letter, or The House of the Seven Gables, is the meaning Hawthorne meant, is pointless; his texts, with all their varying, fading voices, their controlled lapses into possible authenticity, are meant as invitations to co-production on the part of the reader. 73

Thus the reader appropriates the scarlet letter and assumes the role of Adam and Artist respectively.

If ambiguity is at the root of his 'burrowing' into our 'common' past, Hawthorne's apprehension of the future does not offer any hopeful certitude. The quest for the future and for eternity is as unfulfilled, unpromising and enigmatic as the journey into the past. The search for the future leads only to the discovery of its elusiveness:

> This fugitive Tomorrow... is a stray child of Time and is flying from his father into the region of the infinite. 74

Scientific pursuits to uncover the secrets of Time and Nature are constantly foiled by the goddess herself who mocks her 'aspiring students' with 'mysteries that seem but just beyond their reach'.[75] Aesthetic aspirations meet with the same frustration and failure. The artist's task is complicated by his desire on the one hand to analyse and describe human experience which is by its very nature time-bound, diverse, confused; on the other hand he is driven by a need to order, to idealize, to create immutable, eternal forms. Hawthorne's artist-figures are unable to integrate this dualism. The portrait-painter of 'The Prophetic Pictures' (1837) is not only masterful in describing the present appearance of his subjects, he also possesses an analytical genius for probing into their psychological depths and discovering the 'hidden secrets of the past and future'.[76]

> He is a spiritualized Paul Pry, hovering invisible round man and woman, witnessing their deeds, searching into their hearts. 79

His scientific curiosity about human motives and actions results in the violation of time and the sanctity of the human heart. But his own heart is hardened in the process and he is condemned to the lonely isolated existence shared by so many of Hawthorne's scientist-artist figures:

> Like all other men around whom an engrossing purpose wreathes itself, he was insulated from the mass of human kind....His heart was cold; no living creature could be brought near enough to keep him warm. 78

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If the portrait-painter attempts to 'summon the shrouded Future'[79] into the present, Owen Warland's quest is for the infinite ideal. He attempts to 'spiritualize matter'[80] and in the process becomes alienated from the living stream of time and love. In both tales, and particularly the latter, the climax is pronounced in the characteristic mode of hesitancy: ambiguity imbues the endings with a sense of the complexity of human motivation and human action. The tone is at once triumphant and defeated, exultant and appalled.

It is ultimately Hawthorne himself who must conflate the roles of creative artist and suffering man. He must pursue his quest for identity in and through time and try to render intelligible this 'most entangled enigma of time'.[81] In 'Earth's Holocaust' (1844) he writes :

> Be of good cheer. The great book of Time is still spread wide open before us; and if we read it aright, it will be to us a volume of eternal truth. 82

Reading 'aright' is interpreting 'aright', and writer and reader must participate in a mutual commitment to the hermeneutical activity. Hawthorne's insistence upon this reciprocal communication with his reader is a self-protective measure against the sin of isolation committed by his scientist-artist figures. He struggles to find a balance between the experience of time as subjective and the authority of an objective time-scheme; between one's quest for individual identity and for one's place in society. Hence the stranger's anguished request in 'The Intelligence Office':

> I want my place! - my own place! - my true place in the world! - my own proper sphere! - my thing to do, which nature intended me to perform when she fashioned me thus awry, and which I have vainly sought, all my life-time! 83

Here in a nutshell is the temporal design of Hawthorne's fiction: man's life-long and eternal quest for identity and meaning as experienced in time.

The questions Hawthorne asks are the perennial questions of mankind. What is the special quality and value, if any, in the fleeting moment? What are its enduring links with what has gone before, and what is yet to come? In The Marble Faun he writes:

> The life of the flitting moment, existing in the antique shell of an age gone by, has a fascination which we do not find in either the past or present, taken by themselves. 84

The titles of his Mosses of an Old Manse and Twice-Told Tales underline his concern with the age-old problems of his race, and his acceptance of the burden of retelling these stories so that the book of time might be read 'aright'. His source of inspiration is often some object, or old legend, or scrap of gossip from the past, pregnant with an undisclosed meaning that he sets out to uncover or translate for his reader. The most explicit treatment of this theme is The Scarlet Letter which is the product, he tells us, of his discovery of 'a rag of scarlet cloth' which presents itself as 'most worthy of interpretation'.[85]

Memory and prophecy are the tools for discovering duration not only in the life of a single individual but in the life of all humanity. Georges Poulet quotes George Sand as saying:

> Our predecessors and our successors are just as much us as ourselves,

and Balanche, who writes:

> All that has affected human destinies in the future and in the past echoed within him.

Poulet's own recognition of 'a magnetic chain of universal human destiny'[86] is a noteworthy echo of Hawthorne's 'magnetic chain of humanity'.[87] Edward Davidson observes:

> Hawthorne had only one range of vision: to see the past and future as they met in a timeless continuum which is the heart of man. 88

For Hawthorne the feeling of duration is sustained by the morality of love; universal brotherhood, and the romantic love of man and woman. In a letter to his wife Sophia he describes the transcendent power of love:

> Do you not feel, dearest, that we live above time and apart from time even while we seem to be in the midst of time? Our affection diffuses eternity round about us. 89

Through symbol and allegory in its widest sense, Hawthorne is able to give a form to the 'magnetic chain' of man's history, past, present and future. The ability to communicate universal truths is the gift of

> symbolizing, it would seem, not the power of speech in foreign and unknown languages, but that of addressing the whole human brotherhood in the heart's native language.

This reference here is to Dimmesdale but the symbolistic power is equally applicable to Hawthorne who shares with his character 'the gift that descended upon the chosen disciples at Pentecost, in tongues of flame'.[90] The difficulty of distinguishing between symbol, emblem, allegory and type in Hawthorne's writing is evident from the above quotation where all seem to operate simultaneously. The difficulty is further compounded by Hawthorne's interchangeable reference to these terms. On the whole, critics have been evasive. Some, like Feidelson, have shared Hawthorne's deprecation of his 'blasted allegories'[91] and have praised his mastery of the symbolistic mode, which, according to Feidelson, he inherited from the Puritan tradition. To others, like Yvor Winters, Hawthorne is 'essentially an allegorist' influenced by the 'allegorical vision' of the Puritans. The Scarlet Letter is 'pure allegory' and 'one of the chief masterpieces of English prose', and the remainder of the Hawthornean canon is dismissed because of 'unassimilated allegorical elements'.[92] It is not my intention to quibble with the definition of Hawthorne as allegorist or symbolist, nor can I see any purpose in the

current favour afforded to symbolism in preference to 'antiquated' allegory.[93] It seems to me that Hawthorne wrote some good and also some feeble and mechanical allegories; similarly he created memorable and masterful symbols but he also conceived many that are ineffectual, dull and forgettable. What is more to the point is that Hawthorne is a self-conscious artist dedicated not only to content but also to the form and medium of aesthetic expression. Symbolism, allegory and typology are technical devices by means of which he could structure the temporal architectonics of his fiction.

The passage from The Scarlet Letter quoted above reveals the correlativity of symbolism and language. Language is the articulation of men haunted by their rootedness in time and space. Words are a product of time and speech is a record of the cycle of life; word and speech are born out of man's groping for knowledge. Each word is potentially a symbol because it partakes of a language that is the expression of man's communal experience. As Hawthorne remarks:

> Words - so innocent and powerless as they are, as standing in a dictionary, how potent for good and evil they become, in the hands of one who knows how to use them. 94

Hawthorne is writing in the vein of Coleridgean Romanticism which 'would endeavour to destroy the old antithesis of Words and Things; elevating, as it were, Words into Things and living things too'.[95] To both Hawthorne and Coleridge an act of speech is the realization of organic unity. Wilhelm von Humboldt expresses a similar view:

> The most general and characteristic function of language is that it is a medium or link of communication. It bears the imprint of the double nature of man blended into a symbol. In language our spontaneity and receptivity act together, and the subjective unites itself with the objective. By the act of speech the external world becomes converted into an internal one....Language is thus a perpetual prosopopoeia. 96

Symbolism dissolves the traditional Cartesian dualism of materialism and idealism replacing it with an epistemological theory based on the unity of the mental and th physical, the subjective and the objective. The Kantian revolution set in motion a new theory of knowledge which emphasized not the boundaries of knowledge but the process of knowing, not the objective certainty of facts, but the method of cognition.

Symbolism then is far more than a literary device: it is a mode of perception which enters into the form and content of the work. And symbolism is a measure of the human capacity to entertain contradictory and paradoxical notions of reality. The Scarlet Letter, 'Young Goodman Brown'(1835) and 'Rappaccini's Daughter',(1844) to cite but a few examples, are specifically concerned with epistemological assumptions, and their dominant symbols are open to multiple interpretations which reflect the instability of a rapidly changing modern world. Symbolism then is the means by which Hawthorne questions the reality of appearances and signifies the timeless universals beyond the ordinary world of appearances. Thus the questions embodied in the symbols are the representations as events in time of the archetypal or universal. Richard Jacobson observes:

> In its broadest meaning for Hawthorne, a symbol is an imitation of our common nature, of the dynamic and creative force of life, in terms appropriate to the personal experience of the artist. As such, it is able to present individual experience, in its multiplicity and ambiguity of meaning, as universal experience. 97

To see the literary work as a linguistic structure is to regard it as a symbol itself, which not only unifies the subjective and objective, but also establishes a dialogue between writer and reader, and between the past and the future through its autonomous existence in a timeless present.

Kenneth Burke comments on the symbolistic status of literature:

> After the act of its composition by a poet who had acted in a particular temporal scene, [the 'Symbol'] survives as an objective structure, capable of being examined in itself, in temporal scenes quite different from the scene of its composition, and by agents quite different from the agent who originally enacted it.98

The symbol is continuous in time and has the power to generate new meanings in the minds of its perceivers.

Feidelson's definition of allegory as imposing 'the pat moral and the simplified character' in contradistinction to the 'inconclusive luxuriance of meaning'[99] inherent in the symbol errs on the side of generalization. Dante, referring to the interpretation of the Divina Commedia, writes:

> The meaning of this work is not of one kind only; rather the work may be described as 'polysemous', that is, having several meanings; for the first meaning is that which is conveyed by the letter, and the next is that which is conveyed by what the letter signifies, the former of which is called literal, while the latter is called allegorical, or mystical. 100

Traditionally the interpretation of allegory has four levels, literal, typological, tropological and anagogical. Hawthorne uses at least two of these levels at any given time, but it is the first three that particularly concern him in his analysis of the historical, typological and moral attitudes of man. The Pilgrim Fathers explained their exodus from the Old World in terms of typological allegory, an exegetic method which regards events and figures of the Old Testament as combining historical reality with prophetic meaning in terms of the Christian dispensation. Transcribed from scriptural terms the Puritan theocracy combines historical fact with a latent meaning which refers to the Christian Church. Thus, the Puritans are the Children of Israel who leave the old life of sin in the Egypt of the Old World, in search of

the Promised Land in the New World of the American continent. The Promised Land is the Kingdom of God and the wilderness is the struggle for salvation during this life. Cotton Mather, referring to Governor John Winthrop, writes:

> Accordingly when the Noble Design of carrying a colony of Chosen People into an American Wilderness, was by some Eminent Persons undertaken, This Eminent Person was, by the Consent of all, Chosen for the Moses, who must be the Leader of so great an Undertaking. 101

From this perspective all history becomes a typology and the full meaning of any individual historical event becomes apparent only in terms of the future. The word 'type' derives from the Greek and means 'something struck out; a print, impression of a seal'. The seal is the New Testament event, which has struck out a prophetic impression of itself in the pages of the Old Testament. In terms of temporal logic the process seems impossible, but in terms of the dynamics of eternity, there is no particular difficulty.

Hawthorne does not have the blind faith of his Puritan compatriots and he exploits the irony inherent in the temporal scheme of figural allegory in order to reveal the reality of historical process. Contrary to Feidelson's view that allegory is a safe and conventional evasion of the complexities of life, Hawthorne uses allegory to reveal the real discrepancy between the contingencies of historical time and the ideal order of God's time. His recognition of the problematic nature of human existence revealed in biblical typology anticipates Auerbach's definition:

> Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons in such a way that the first signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second involves or fulfils the first. The two poles of a figure are separated in time, but both, being real events or persons, are within temporality. They are both contained in the flowing stream which is historical life. 102

Both Hawthorne and Auerbach see figural interpretation as a response to the seeming incomprehensibility of life's vicissitudes, an effort to give meaning to existence. The example that Auerbach provides is Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac: the horror of Abraham's dilemma makes such a methodology necessary, for the typological relationship seeks a justification in Divine Providence.[103] What is problematical about realism as Auerbach and Hawthorne conceive it, is the attempt to balance the 'confused, contradictory multiplicity'[104] of human events against some form of transcendent or social order.

The Puritan typology was strictly scriptural. The exercise of the free imagination was gravely censured:

> Men must not indulge their own Fancies, as the Popish Writers use to do, with their Allegorical Senses, as they call them; except we have some Scriptural ground for it. It is not safe to make any thing a Type meerly upon our own fansies and imaginations; it is God's Prerogative to make Types. 105

Jonathon Edwards, however, recognized that types must become more progressive, and include natural and scientific phenomena, if religion is not to become 'an isolated mental habit'.[106] In his study of Biblical literature the German philosopher Herder developed an evolutionary theory of symbols which influenced American literature. Herder maintained[107] that if the symbols of a culture remain fixed and unchanging, the moral evolution of that culture becomes stultified. The moral and spiritual progress of a culture requires an equivalent evolution of its symbols without which it cannot long survive.

Hawthorne's types are eclectic. Kermode lists the cumulative and changing etymology acquired by the word 'type' and suggests how Hawthorne utilizes

all these connotations in his consideration of man's ontological and epistemological relation to time.[108] Several of these meanings relate directly to the artistic function of creating 'a typical illusion'.[109] 'Type' may refer to printing, inscribing or engraving, and to the characters or letters used in printing.[110] Kermode also notes that the first photographers called their plates 'types' and thence derives the daguerreotype. Renan comments on the significance of the daguerreotype in terms of duration :

> The daguerreotypes of all things are preserved...the imprints of all that has existed live, spread out through the diverse zones of infinite space. 111

But 'type' also has a crucial place in the vocabulary of the evolutionary debate between the defenders of the fixed types of divine creation, and the advocates of the evolution of species. The Romantic elevation of the artist to the role of prophet fosters an imaginative rather than a theological generation of types. The function of the artist, then, is to make new versions of the old types which differ from the stable providential certitude of the Puritan schemata. In this way he narrows the gap between the fixed God-given types and the changing types of historical process. Kermode comments:

> To provide these fragile modern typologies is the work of the artist who inhabits a new world in flight from old certainties, an artist of the age of the steam-engine, of mesmerism, of the new inconceivable past as well as the unknowable future. 112

Hawthorne redefines allegory in order to encode the catastrophe of the times. His 'typical illusion', his fiction, with its web of alternative possibilities, its modulations of narrative voice, its multivalent symbols, is a measure of his interpretation of the reality of the modern world.

The self-conscious and deliberate manipulation of literary devices evident in Hawthorne's fiction validates the Romantic and post-Romantic sense that

form and content are one, because form is content. Todorov postulates the self-reflexive, autotelic nature of literature:

> Every work, every novel, tells through its fabric of events the story of its own creation, its own history... the meaning of a work lies in its telling itself, its speaking of its own existence. 113

It is this process of creation, of literary becoming, that Hawthorne refers to in 'The Custom House':

> It seemed to me then that I experienced a sensation not altogether physical, yet almost so, as of burning heat; and as if the letter were not of red cloth, but red-hot iron. 114

The content fuses with its medium as the 'tongue of flame' melts and forges the letter into a work of art, The Scarlet Letter. In 'Wakefield' (1835) Hawthorne determines the terms of his fiction:

> What sort of a man was Wakefield? We are free to shape out our own idea, and call it by his name. 115

The central drama of the story is the act of narration itself. Hawthorne engages himself and his reader in a process of 'technique as discovery'.[116]

As a writer of fiction Hawthorne is always aware of both his moral and aesthetic responsibility. Although he anticipates the formalist and structuralist movements of the twentieth century he never sacrifices his moral and social purpose as a writer to the purely formal elements of his art. In his writing, technique is always made to serve theme. His works argue for a common human basis of experience expressed in the autonomous language of literary discourse. The paradox is readily elucidated by Melville:

> It is with fiction as with religion: it should present another world, and yet one to which we feel the tie. 117

In writing fictional tales, short stories and romance novels Hawthorne is making a claim for the 'intentional' structure of literary prose as against the more common 'imitative' structure that prevailed in the America of his

time. Stanzel defines 'intentional' structure as 'a structure capable of interpretation'.[118] In other words, a powerful symbiotic relationship is set up between writer and reader through the narrative construct of the fictional work. Thus the showman in 'Main-Street' (1849) reminds his audience that :

> Human art has its limitations, and we must now and then ask a little aid from the spectator's imagination. 119

And Hilda remarks in The Marble Faun :

> There is a class of spectators whose sympathy will help them to see the perfect through a mist of imperfection. Nobody, I think, ought to read poetry, or look at pictures or statues, who cannot find a great deal more in them than the poet or artist has actually expressed. Their highest merit is suggestiveness. 120

In an 'imitative' structure such as a diary, a newspaper report or a biography the real world is described objectively and chronologically with a minimum attempt to order the multiplicity of details into an imaginative whole. The reader responds to such literature with interest, with concern perhaps, but he is seldom called upon to interpret, and he is never called upon to immerse himself experientally as he is in the created, patterned world of fiction. In 'Sights from a Steeple' (1831) Hawthorne juxtaposes and experiments with these two forms of writing. At first the sketch is merely an impressionistic recording of the passing parade of life in the town. But the detached vantage point of the narrator adds a dimension of selectivity, commentary, and associative reverie. The speaker's activity of mind transforms the objective world into a subjective experience of beauty and pleasure. The sketch is therefore recreative in the sense of making new; it revitalizes the reader's sensation of life as seen rather than recognized.

The image of the house and the theme of psychic homelessness recur constantly in Hawthorne's writing. At least one novel and one volume of short stories contain the image of the home in their titles: The House of the Seven Gables and Mosses from an Old Manse. Georg Lukacs has called the novel the art form of 'transcendental homelessness',[121] which he explains as the homelessness of action and value in the world. From one point of view Hawthorne's fiction may be described as a quest for value, a quest which leads him to explore both past and future in an attempt to give meaning to present actions.

Throughout his artistic career Hawthorne's aim was to 'open an intercourse with the world'. Thus the reader becomes a 'guest' at the Old Manse as 'the author makes the reader acquainted with his abode'.[122] The reader, now a member of Hawthorne's small 'circle of friends',[123]

> having seen whatever may be worthy of notice within and about the Old Manse,... has finally been ushered into my study. There, after seating him in an antique elbow chair, an heirloom of the house, I take forth a roll of manuscript and entreat his attention to the following tales....124

The Old Manse is not only Hawthorne's actual home, the house in Concord where he lived after his marriage to Sophia; it is also a house of fiction, the created world of the artist's imaginative abode,

> a neutral territory, somewhere between the real world and fairy-land where the Actual and the Imaginary may meet, and each imbue itself with the nature of the other. 125

Here too, in this 'neutral territory', the past and the present meet as the present and future guest-reader identifies himself with the antique heirlooms of the house, inheriting not only these, but Hawthorne's own gifts, his tales, his 'Mosses'. The self-conscious narrative voice is characteristic of a writer who accepts the peculiarly literary nature of his

calling. Hawthorne perceives what Wallace Stevens later voices in his poem, 'The Idea of Order at Key West':

> Oh! Blessed rage for order, pale Ramon,
> The Maker's rage to order words of the sea,
> Words of the fragrant portals, dimly starred,
> And of ourselves and of our origins,
> In ghostlier demarcations, keener sounds.

The 'rage to order words' binds the 'maker' to his reader, and this expression in 'keener sounds' makes the reader aware not only of himself but also of his 'origins', of his present and the 'ghostlier demarcations of his past'.

What emerges from this consideration of Hawthorne's aim as a writer of fiction is his profound consciousness that what distinguishes fiction from 'imitative' types of prose is the vital presence of structural elements. His comment on 'The Old Apple Dealer' is applicable to all his fiction:

> Whether it have any interest must depend entirely on the sort of view taken by the writer, and the ode of execution. 126

He recognizes that any literary representation of reality is necessarily circumscribed by the process of selectivity involved and by the limitations of the linguistic medium. The specific problem of the writer is to render the unbounded and continuous experience of time and space through the discrete units of language which has its own temporal and spatial bounds. Through language the mind imposes logical and grammatical structures on the intangible fluidity of experience. Thus, as Scholes observes ;

> All writing, all composition, is construction. We do not imitate the world, we construct versions of it. There is no mimesis only poiesis. No recording. Only construction. 127

In his selection of a linguistic system the writer creates his fictional world with its own temporal patterns and values. Through his choice of words, of images and metaphors, of syntactical structures; through the

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selection of the temporal direction of plot, chronological, cyclical, or flashback, for example; through the choice of an ending; through narrative point of view, the writer determines and defines his fictive realm presenting it to his reader for interpretation.

All of these structural conventions can be seen as subdivisions of the temporal organisation of narrative which I take to be one of Hawthorne's central concerns.[128] The purpose of this dissertation is to examine all these elements, but particular attention will be devoted to narrative perspective and to the temporal unfolding of the narrative situation as it is these internal laws that give the art of fiction its distinctive character. The mediacy of presentation which establishes the narrative point of view concretizes the fictional world; and the temporal nature of his form enables the writer to play upon the future-directed curiosity of his reader. As Stanzel observes:

> Above all, however, interpreters of the novel must always focus on the manner in which the continuous unrolling of narrative strands creates a world in the reader's imagination. Such a world increases in definiteness with every word. The genesis of fictional reality occurs according to certain ordering patterns which are determined by the structure of the novel. 129

The self-conscious artifice of literary discourse is a function of its meaning. Its aim is to break down habitual modes of perception in order to generate a heightened awareness of reality. Shklovsky writes:

> The end of art is to give a sensation of the object as seen, not as recognized. The technique of art is to make things 'unfamiliar', to make forms obscure, so as to increase the difficulty and the duration of perception. The act of perception in art is an end in itself and must be prolonged. In art, it is our experience of the process of construction that counts, not the finished product. 130

In his famous passage in 'The Custom House' about moonlight and the imagination, Hawthorne describes the technique of defamiliarization:

> Moonlight, in a familiar room, falling so white upon the carpet, and showing all its figures so distinctly - making every object so minutely visible, yet so unlike a morning or noontide visibility - is a medium the most suitable for a romance writer to get acquainted with his illusive guests. There is the little domestic scenery of the well-known apartment; the chairs, with each its separate individuality; the centre table, sustaining a work-basket, a volume or two, and an extinguished lamp; the sofa; the bookcase: the picture on the wall - all these details, so completely seen, are so spiritualized by the unusual light, that they seem to lose their actual substance, and become things of intellect. Nothing is too small or too trifling to undergo this change, and acquire dignity thereby. A child's shoe; the doll, seated in her little wicker carriage; the hobby horse - whatever, in a word, has been used or played with during the day is now invested with a quality of strangeness and remoteness, though still almost as vividly present as by daylight. Thus, therefore, the floor of our familiar room has become a neutral territory, somewhere between the real world and fairyland, where the Actual and the Imaginary may meet, and each imbue itself with the nature of the other....
>
> The somewhat dim coal fire has an essential influence in producing the effect which I would describe....
>
> This warmer light mingles itself with the cold spiritually of the moon-beams, and communicates, as it were, a heart and sensibilities of human tenderness to the forms which fancy summons up. It converts them from snow-images into men and women. Glancing at the looking glass, we behold - deep within its haunted verge - the smouldering glow of the half-extinguished anthracite, the white moonbeams on the floor, and a repetition of all the gleam and shadow of the picture, with one remove further from the actual, and nearer to the imaginative. Then, at such an hour, and with this scene before him, if a man sitting all alone cannot dream strange things and make them look like truth, he need never try to write romances. [31]

The aim of fiction is to invest ordinary objects of habituation with mystery, and to 'dream strange things and make them look like truth'. Hawthorne's description embodies the process by which a writer conceives a fictional world, a world whose reality is a delicate synthesis of the

material and the spiritual. The room's lighting makes discontinuous orders of reality seem continuous, so that the mirror - a metaphor for fiction - can repeat back the whole scene without marking differences between the imaginary and the actual. The function of the Romance is to achieve the psychic distance necessary for stimulating the creative process. In The House of the Seven Gables (1851) the disengagement from 'the Present that is flitting away from us' is achieved by a 'legendary mist' of a 'bygone time... now gray in the distance'[132]. In The Blithedale Romance (182) the author selects a setting 'a little removed from the highway of ordinary travel', and creates 'an atmosphere of strange enchantment'.[133] And in the preface to The Marble Faun (1860) Hawthorne notes the need for distance in the literary illusion:

> Italy as the site of his Romance, was chiefly valuable to him as affording a sort of poetic or fairy precinct, where actualities would not be so terribly insisted upon... 134

The distancing process aims at discovering a permanent truth underlying the apparent flux of ordinary life. The showman in 'Main-Street' admonishes the critic who objects to the unreal setting of the pictorial exhibition and its distortion of historical facts:

> But, sir, you have not the proper point of view.... You sit altogether too near to get the best effect.... Pray, oblige me by removing to this other bench, and I venture to assure you the proper light and shadow will transform the spectacle into quite another thing. 135

The purpose of defamiliarization is to shock the reader out of his imaginative and intellectual paralysis, and to generate in him an active rather than passive role in structuring his world anew. Crowley points out that :

> Hawthorne invariably saw the central problem of his art as the necessity to awaken an audience virtually maimed in its capacity to feel and imagine. 136

The title of Hawthorne's Twice-Told Tales (1837) alludes to a passage

in Shakespeare' King John which validates this sentiment:

> Life is as tedious as a twice-told tale
> Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man. [137]

Hawthorne consciously set out to attract a wide general audience that would be responsive to the 'kingdom of possibilities'[138] of his fiction, in which past and future, memory and hope meet in the timeless continuum of 'the truth of the human heart'. Herein lies Hawthorne's 'intercourse with the world' and herein lies his morality.

The purpose of this dissertation is an intensive study of the problem of time in Hawthorne's short stories and sketches. The choice of material aims to be provocative rather than comprehensive. In concentrating on his shorter fiction I do not suggest that the problem of time is confined to these works. Certainly the short works examine issues and structures that are treated more expansively in the romances. But the justification for selecting the shorter fiction is manifold. From a purely pragmatic point of view the stories form a large bulk of Hawthorne's writing. This, of course, can be accounted for by the market factor. The absence of international copyright laws resulted in the proliferation in America of cheap reprints from England. Since British novels could be pirated so profitably, American publishers were seldom keen to sponsor work by local authors. The short story, on the other hand, could find a ready public through the gift annuals and periodicals which became increasingly popular after about 1830.

Hawthorne has been widely acclaimed as a master of the short story, a form which has come to be recognized as 'a national art form'.[139] Many of Hawthorne's stories are masterpieces in their own right, while others, if not quite of this calibre are nevertheless interesting as experiments

in the art of fiction. Terence Martin has referred to Hawthorne's 'workshop method' which he explains as

> the necessity of inventing his own conventions... [and] a concomitant need to explain processes and intentions to his reader. 140

From a critic's point of view the 'protean variety'[141] of narrative structures, temporal ordering, verbal style and mediacy of presentation that is offered in the collections of his short works is irresistible. A list of the diversity of the narrative categories and generic modes that he ventures to master is impressive: he writes sketches, fairy-tales, Utopian quests, anecdotes, legends, historical romances, gothic tales, parables, fantasies, moralities, apologues. He uses the fairy-tale convention of 'once upon a time', the mythic structure of the quest motif, the journey plot, the processional, the oral tradition, the irrational, alogical dream structure, the framing device and the technique of the associative imagination. In most instances his version of the traditional conventions is interpretive and critical rather than imitative, and bears his own particular signature. Often he uses two or more conventions simultaneously in a single story. In 'My Kinsman, Major Molineux' (1832) for example, he juxtaposes the framing device with the quest motif, the historical romance, the processional and the surreal dream structure. Each different mode questions the imaginative validity of the others and tests their capacity as vehicles of truth.

Richard Brodhead refers to the 'mixed medium'[142] of Hawthorne's romances and the explorative and experimental nature of his fictional voice. The same observation would apply to the short stories where natural and supernatural, mundane and marvellous are interfused. Many of the stories, like the romances, evoke a sense of the mysterious within

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the frame of everyday reality. Strange encounters and metamorphoses may happen, or seem to happen: nothing is objectively verifiable. Significantly the qualities that seem to me to be characteristic of Hawthorne's short stories would appear to contradict that quality in Twice-Told Tales which prompted Poe to write the first definition of the short story: unity of effect.[143] The contradiction is apparent, not real. Hawthorne's finest tales do have a unity of effect, but, at the risk of sounding obscure, it is a unity of disunities.

The brevity and intensity of impression that Poe perceptively discovers in the short story form forces upon the genre an acute sense of its artificial, fictive nature. Rather than reflecting a pre-existing real world, as most novels attempted to do, the short story is committed to creating new fictions. It is restless, explorative, experimental, and as such was a suitable vehicle for the American frontier spirit of the nineteenth century. Chase's description of American narrative is applicable to the short story:

> The American novel has usually seemed content to explore, rather than to appropriate and civilize, the remarkable and in some ways unexampled territories of life in the New World and to reflect its anomalies and dilemmas. It has not wanted to build an imperium but merely discover a new place and a new state of mind. Explorers see more deeply, darkly, privately and disinterestedly than imperialists who must perforce be circumspect and prudential. The American novel... tends to carve out of experience brilliant, highly wrought fragments rather than massive unities. (Italics mine). 144

The flowering of the short story is also an outcrop of Romanticism. Chase writes that the American imagination 'has been stirred...by the aesthetic possibilities of radical forms of alienation, contradiction

the frame of everyday reality. Strange encounters and metamorphoses may happen, or seem to happen: nothing is objectively verifiable. Significantly the qualities that seem to me to be characteristic of Hawthorne's short stories would appear to contradict that quality in Twice-Told Tales which prompted Poe to write the first definition of the short story: unity of effect.[143] The contradiction is apparent, not real. Hawthorne's finest tales do have a unity of effect, but, at the risk of sounding obscure, it is a unity of disunities.

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The flowering of the short story is also an outcrop of Romanticism. Chase writes that the American imagination 'has been stirred...by the aesthetic possibilities of radical forms of alienation, contradiction

and disorder'.[145] The characters who inhabit the world of the short story are wanderers, lonely dreamers, and 'Outcast[s] of the Universe'[146] at odds with their fellowmen and with cohesive social norms. Whereas the nineteenth-century English novel delineates the large-scale social pattern of manners and morals, the romance and short story address themselves to a psychic underworld. Frank O'Connor observes, '[The short story is] by its very nature remote from the community - romantic, individualistic, and intransigent '.[147] The nomadic pattern, repeated again and again in Hawthorne's stories is metaphorically realized in the incident of the dog chasing its tail in 'Ethan Brand' (1851):'in its end is its beginning and in its beginning is its end'.[148] William James' description of his brother's tales serves as an apt comment on the distinctive quality of Hawthorne's stories, the mystery of man's existence in time and space:

> [The tales give] an impression like that we often get of people in life: their orbits come out of space and lay themselves for a short time along ours, and then they whirl again into the unknown, leaving us with little more than an impression of their reality and a feeling of baffled curiosity as to the mystery of the beginning and end of their being. 149

NOTES

1. Kaul, A.N. ed. Hawthorne. A Collection of Critical Essays p.1-2.

2. Waggoner, [illegible]ence of Hawthorne p.13.

3. Crowley, T. [illegible] (ed.) Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Collection of Criticism p.9.

4. Kermode, F. The Classic p.91.

5. Dauber, K.; Waggoner, H.; Trilling, L.; Warren, Robert Penn.

6. Waggoner, op cit., p. 57.

7. Josipovici, G. The World and the Book, p.161

8. Feidelson, C. Symbolism and American Literature p.45.

9. MOM, pp. 91-92.

10. Levin, H. The Gates of Horn p.51.

11. Urban, Wilbur. The Inelligible World. Cited in Mendilow, A.A., Time and the Novel p.11.

12. Mann Thomas, The Magic Mountain p. 541.

13. MOM, p. 66.

14. H.S.G., Preface p. 1.

15. Chase, Richard. The American Novel and its Tradition p.19.

16. Roland Barthes, in a study of 'Sarrasine', a short story by Balzac, has shown how even the most realistic of narrative styles is structured artificially by means of devices which shape or distort the 'real' world it presumes to mirror.

17. Jameson, F. The Prison House of Language, p. 89.

18. Crowley, op cit., p. 7
It is this quality of humanitas that Roy Harvey Pearce discovers in Hawthorne. See Historicism Once More. p.26ff. for a discussion of humanitas.

19. M.F. p.1.

20. TTT. p.6.

21. I take my terms from Josipovici, G. The World and the Book.

22. In 'The Devil in Manuscript'(1835) the frustrated and despairing author Oberon, a persona of Hawthorne, determines to burn his unpublished manuscript:

> ...In short, of all the seventeen booksellers, only one has vouchsafed even to read my tales; and he - a literary dabbler himself, I should judge - has the impertinence to criticise them, proposing what he calls vast improvements and concluding, after a general sentence of condemnation, with the definite assurance that he will not be concerned on any terms...But, there does seem to be one honest man among these seventeen unrighteous ones, and he tells me fairly, that no American publisher will meddle with an American work, seldom if by a known writer, and never if by a new one, unless at the writer's risk.' SI p.172-173

23. Wordsworth's claim that

> every author as far as he is great and at the same time original, has had the task of creating the taste by which he is to be enjoyed,

is reflected in Hawthorne's serious dedication to set up a dialogue with his readers in order to mould their responses.

Lyrical Ballads : Essay Supplementary to the Preface 1815-1845.

24. Pearce,op cit.,p.56.
25. Ibid.,p.168.
26. Ibid.,p.173.
27. Ibid.,p.168.
28. Matthiessen, F. American Renaissance p.xv.
29. Feidelson,op cit.,p.90.
30. TTT,p.5.
31. MOM, p.247.
32. MOM, p.120.
33. Feidelson,op cit., p.100.
34. Notebook entry September 1842. AN, p.360.
35. MOM,p.23.

36. The most lyrical Puritan indictment of the imagination is expressed by Thomas Hooker:

> A man's imaginations are the forge of villany, where it's al framed, the Warehouse of wickedness, the Magazine of al mischief and iniquity, whence the sinner is furnished to the commission of al evil, in his ordinary course; the Sea of abominations, which over-flows into al the Sence, and they are polluted into all parts of the body, and they are defiled and carried aside with many noysom corruptions... The Imagination of our mind is the great wheel that carries al with it.

Cited in Johnson, C. The Productive Tension of Hawthorne's Art p.36.

37. SI., p.149-150.

38. S.L., p.10.

39. Brodhead, R. Hawthorne, Melville and the Novel p.29

40. James, H. Hawthorne p.15-16.

41. SI., p.5.

42. Cited in Doubleday, N. Hawthorne's Early Tales. A Critical Study p.19.

43. Ibid., p.20.

44. Cunliffe, M. The Literature of the United States p.47.

45. M.F., p.3.

46. James, H. op.cit., p. 44.

47. Cited by Doubleday, op.cit., p31-32.

48. Van Wyck Brooks. Cited in Matthiessen, op cit., p.210.

49. Melville to Hawthorne, 16? April? 1851 Letters pp.124-125. Cited in Brodhead, op.cit., pp.120-121. Matthiessen quotes the same letter but prefers the rendering of 'usable truth'.

50. cf. Fussell suggests the analogy between the literary situation and the national predicament:

> Indeed, as we look backward over the tortuous development of our early literature, it seems impossible to determine whether the American mind was primarily formed by the basic facts of American experience or whether these basic facts were primarily formed by the American mind. All we can be sure of is their reciprocity, a reciprocity precisely analogous to the historical situation, as it existed in the imaginations of men, and from which the metaphor of the frontier was born, nature in the neutral territory changing civilisation while at the same time being changed by it.... Hawthorne's articulation of an aesthetic so closely revealing the literary situation of his country, and embodied in the central metaphor of the national dilemma, was significant for more than Hawthorne; it was in fact, the moment of full and self-conscious maturity for American literature.
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> Frontier: American Literature and the American West. p.124ff.

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> Frontier: American Literature and the American West. p.124ff.

51. Pearce, op.cit., p.161.

52. Matthiessen, op.cit., pp.179-180.

53. Melville, H. 'Hawthorne and his Mosses'. The Literary World, 1850 p.333.

54. Cited by Martin, T. Nathaniel Hawthorne, p.33.

55. Lewis, R.B., The American Adam, p.123.

56. SI., p.133.

57. TTT, p.131.

58. MOM, p.266.

59. Cited in Matthiessen, op.cit., p.261.

60. SI., p.4.

61. Melville, H. 'Hawthorne and his Mosses'.

62. See Crews, Frederick, The Sins of the Fathers, which is a study of repressed guilt in Hawthorne's works.

63. SL., p.47.

64. Martin, op.cit., p.40.

65. M.F., p.3.

66. See R.B. Lewis who says of The Marble Faun (1860):

> Its action has to do with the discovery of time as a metaphor for the experience of evil.
>
> op.cit. p.122.

67. Matthiessen, op.cit., p.276.

68. HSG., pp 2-3.

69. MOM, p.336.

70. SI, p.4.

71. Winters, Yvor. 'Maule's Curse, or Hawthorne and the Problem of Allegory' Reprinted in Kaul op.cit., p.21.

72. SL, p.161.

73. Kermode, op.cit., p.113.

74. MOM, p.334

75. Ibid., p.332.

76. TTT., p.179.

77. Ibid., p.192.

78. Ibid., p.178.

79. Ibid., p.179.

80. MOM, p.459.

81. St. Augustine. Cited by Noon, William, T. 'Modern Literature and Sense of Time' in Stevick, P. (ed.) The Theory of the Novel.

82. MOM, p.398.

83. Ibid., p.323.

84. M.F., p.312.

85. SL., p.32.

    Similarly 'Wakefield' (1835) is based on a newspaper article. 'The Legends of the Province House' are anecdotes recounted and recalled by the innkeeper and an old loyalist. 'An Old Woman's Tale' (1830) belongs to the oral tradition where a grotesque legend acquires present significance by the authority of the storyteller. In 'The Wedding Knell' (1936) a macabre Gothic tale is given authenticity by being recounted to the narrator by his grandmother. In each case Hawthorne has not 'scrupled to make such further changes as seemed conducive to the reader's profit and delight'. TTT., p.243.

86. Poulet, Studies in Human Time p.30.

87. SI., p.99.

88. Cited by Abel, Darrel 'Giving Lustre to Gray Shadows: Hawthorne's Potent Art'. A.L. 41 (1969-70). p.373.

89. Cited by Matthiessen, op.cit., p.255.

90. SL, pp.141-142.

91. Letter to Fields (1854). Cited by Turner, A. Nathaniel Hawthorne p.69. See Feidelson, op.cit., pp.6-16.

92. Winters, op.cit., p.11.

93. Josipovici redefines allegory:

    Art exists in the moment between the silence of nature and the verbalisation of allegory. What is required then is a language which is both natural and conventional, which can embody the experience and communicate it: the language of hieroglyphics. op.cit., p.174.

94. American Notebooks. Riverside edition p.122.

95. Cited by Feidelson, op.cit., p.75.

96. Ibid.

97. Jacobson, R. Hawthorne's Conception of the Creative Process, p.31.

98. Burke, K. A Grammar of Motives p. 482.

99. Feidelson, op.cit., p.15.

100. MacQueen, J. Allegory. p.56-57.

101. Cited in Cunliffe, M. The Literature of the United States, p.26.

102. Auerbach, E. Mimesis p.64.

103. cf. There is an element of necessity in Reuben Bourne's sacrifice of his son.

104. Auerbach, op.cit., p.17.

105. Feidelson, op.cit., p.89.

106. Ibid ., p.101.

107. For an elucidation of Herder's influence on Hawthorne, see Jordan, G.G. 'Hawthorne's "Bell": Historical Evolution Through Symbol . NCF. 19 (Sept.1964) pp.123-139.

108. Kermode, op.cit., pp.83-114.

109. SL, p.174.

110. cf. The letter A, and the reference to the tools of engraving, the maul and puncheon, in the names of the Maule and Pyncheon families in H.S.G.

111. Poulet, op.cit., p.31.

112. Kermode, op.cit., p.105.

113. Cited in Hawkes, T. Structuralism and Semiotics p.100.

114. SL., p.32.

115. TTT, p.101.

116. Title of Mark Schorer's article reprinted in Stevick, op.cit., p.65 ff.

117. Melville, H. The Confidence Man p.207.

118. Stanzel, Franz. Narrative Situations in the Novel. p.14. I have extended Stanzel's poetics of the novel to include the romance and the short story.

119. SI,p.52.

120. MF, p.379.

121. Cited by Good, Graham. 'Lukács' Theory of the Novel' in Spilka, M. Towards a Poetics of Fiction p.127.

122. MOM, p.3.

123. Ibid.,p.34.

124. Ibid.,pp.34-35.

125. SL,p.36.

126. Waggoner, H. The Presence of Hawthorne p.21.

127. Scholes,R. Structural Fabulation p.7.
R.L. Stevenson expresses a similar view:

> So far as it (fiction) imitates at all, it imitates not life but speech; not the facts of human destiny but the emphasis and the suppressions with which the human actor tells of them.
>
> Cited by Mendilow,A. op.cit., p.49.

128. Hawkes observes, following Shklovsky:

> The novel's commitment to narrative, to movement in and through time, makes it an essentially dynamic and active entity...The overriding necessity of narrative in the novel forces on it a mode appropriate to its investment in temporality: the syntagmatic, 'horizontal' mode.
>
> op.cit., p.65.

129. Stanzel, op.cit., pp.8-9.

130. Cited by Scholes, R. 'Formalism, Structuralism and Fiction Theory' in Stevick,op.cit., p.113. In Hawthorne's 'Artist of the Beautiful' Owen Warland expresses a similar insight about the process of construction being more important than the finished product.

131. SL, p.36.

132. HSG., p.2.

133. BR,pp.1-2.

134. MF,p.3.

135. SI,p.57.

136. Crowley,op.cit., p.42.

137. Act III, scene iv.
cf. Yeats' nightingale in 'Sailing to Byzantium' sings to 'keep a drowsy Emperor awake'.

138. Cited by Crowley, op.cit, p.44.

139. O'Connor, F. The Lonely Voice, p.11.

140. Martin, T. op.cit., p.52.

141. Reid, Ian The Short Story p.3.

142. Brodhead, op.cit., p.20.

143. Poe, E.A. 'Nathaniel Hawthorne : Twice-Told Tales'. Reprinted in Bungert, H. ed. Die Amerikanische Short Story.

144. Chase, op.cit., p.5.

145. Ibid., p.2.

146. TTT., p.140.

157. O'Connor, Frank op.cit., p.21.

158. Pickering, Samuel F. Cited by Reid op.cit., p.64.

149. Ibid., p.65.

CHAPTER 2

THE USABLE PAST

In 1863, in Our Old Home Hawthorne writes 'The Present, the Immediate, the Actual, has proved too potent for me.'[1] He is referring specifically to his disillusionment with political events in America, his horror at the outbreak of the Civil War which has dulled his creative energies:

> It takes away not only my scanty faculty, but even my desire for imaginative composition, and leaves me sadly content to scatter a thousand peaceful fantasies upon the hurricane that is sweeping us all along with it, possibly into a Limbo where our nation and its polity may be as literally the fragments of a shattered dream as my unwritten Romance. 2

However, even in the early, formative stages of his career, Hawthorne was aware that in spite of all efforts of the first Puritan colonists to deny their Old World heritage, and in spite of the later Revolutionary victory, such a divorce from 'Our Old Home' was impossible. The War of Independence had indeed achieved for the New World political freedom from its monarchical masters, but the cultural, spiritual and psychological bonds could not be so easily severed. Philip Freneau, the Revolutionary poet, asks:

> Can we never be thought
> To have learning or grace
> Unless it be brought
> From that damnable place? 3

And Holgrave in The House of the Seven Gables echoes this despair:

> Shall we never, never get rid of this Past?... It lies upon the Present like a giant's dead body. 4

But Hawthorne recognizes that such a severe disruption of time, such a categorical break with the past, would serve only to threaten the identity and continuity of the self and of the nation, for without a past there can be no future. The past is meaningful not as an

archaic curiosity, not because of its pastness, but because of its presentness, its power to define the present and influence the future. Crucial here, is the sense that 'present being is incorporated with the past '[5]. It is this immediacy of the past, its vital relationship with the present and the future, recaptured by memory and imaginative reconstruction, that endows man with the sense of an experienced continuity in time. Hawthorne would surely have shared T.S. Eliot's conviction that 'In my beginning is my end...in my end is my beginning'.[6]

This acute consciousness of duration in human existence never blinds Hawthorne to an equally acute awareness of time as flux, 'flitting moments',[7] 'vapours that vanish away'[8], or 'the hurricane that is sweeping us all along it'.[9] Hawthorne's burden, then, his quest, is to discover an aesthetic vision which will embrace both the perdurable and the fluxional aspects of man's knowledge and experience of time. And his quest leads him directly to the past, his own personal past, the historical past of his nation, and the archetypal past of his race. The recovery of a usable past enables him to recover his true origin, history and identity which is also the origin, history and identity of America. The works of Hawthorne viewed as a whole may be seen as an evocative documentation of his quest to discover his identity as artist and as 'American Adam'.[10]

The resurrection of the past, however, yields not only rewards; it brings its own peculiar burden of anguish - the unearthing of sin and guilt. Hawthorne could never free himself from his Puritanical conviction of the universality and inevitability of Original Sin which lies buried and repressed in the dark abyss of the psyche, concealed by a complicated structure of social and moral conventions.[11] In his 'burrowing into the depths of our common nature'[12] Hawthorne discovers to his reader the

'blackness of darkness beyond'[13]. In 'The Haunted Mind' (1835) he observes that:

> In the depths of every human heart there is a tomb and a dungeon, though the lights, the music, and revelry above may cause us to forget their existence, and the buried ones, or prisoners whom they hide. 14

'Fancy's Show Box' (1837) while not one of Hawthorne's great tales, nevertheless raises some interesting issues about the nature of guilt that bear examination. The tale opens with a philosophical question: 'What is Guilt? A stain upon the soul'.[15] The major part of Hawthorne's fiction is devoted to reflection upon and dramatisation of this question with its psychological, moral, metaphysical and aesthetic reverberations. The stain which causes the heart and conscience of Mr Smith 'to fester with the venom of the dagger'[16] is also Hester Prynne's scarlet letter, the Scarlet insignia upon Dimmesdale's breast, Minister Hooper's black veil, and the serpent in Roderick Elliston's bosom. It is also the birthmark on Georgiana's cheek which is the testimony of her humanity. Therefore, says Hawthorne,

> man must not disclaim his brotherhood, even with the guiltiest, since, though his hand be clean, his heart has surely been polluted by the flitting phantoms of iniquity. 17

The structure of the tale reinforces its meaning. It is constructed in receding planes of reality: the stable, 'real' world of writer and reader is drawn into the detached perspective of the omniscient narrator whose philosophical voice provides the frame for the tale-within-a tale structure. The frame is not symmetrically balanced however, as the tone of detached superiority makes way for the humble recognition that the artist-narrator shares in the brotherhood of sin, for 'with the slight

fancy-work which we have framed, some sad and awful truths are interwoven'.[18] (Italics mine). The narrator, in order to give substance to his philosophizing, creates a fictional Everyman, Mr Smith,'whose silver hair was the bright symbol of a life unstained, except by such spots as are inseparable from human nature'.[19] Mr Smith, surrounded by the props of material comforts,echoes the well-being and complacency of the narrator. However, one of these very props, his glass of Madeira wine, throws out a reflection of himself which is 'interpretative' rather than 'imitative'. Three allegorical figures, Fancy, Memory, and Conscience present him with a succession of three pictures of his past life which cast a new light on his present complacent sense of self. With a shock of recognition he discovers his potential cruelty and violence. The arbitrary mingling of tenses underlines the way past and present are intertwined in the consciousness. While Fancy presents the 'semblances of living scenes'[20] from the past through the simultaneity of the pictorial medium, Memory prefers the linearity of narrative structure in time.

Paradoxically, the further the tale moves from the outer reality of the frame, the closer it moves to an inner psychological reality. The trappings of civilisation become transformed into the medium of an intensified vision of reality, which reveals the 'awful truths'[21] that have been concealed. Hawthorne is here making a great claim for fiction, for the glass of Madeira is his own imaginative mirror: art reveals rather than conceals, leads to discovery rather than escape.

There is yet another reversal in this tale. The moral issue raised is a problematical one: is sin imagined, but not enacted, liable to the same 'condemning sentence'[22] of guilt as sin perpetrated? In other words, does

the inner world of the imagination have the same evocative moral power for good and evil as the outer world of overt action? Socially and legally, of course, 'it is not until the crime is accomplished, that guilt clinches its gripe upon the guilty heart and claims it for its own'.[23] Morally and psychologically, however, as Neal Doubleday has shown,[24] the answer to both these questions is positive: the 'fearful truth' is that

> in the solitude of a midnight chamber, or
> in a desert, afar from men, or in a church,
> while the body is kneeling, the soul may
> pollute itself even with those crimes, which
> we are accustomed to deem altogether carnal. 25

The implications for the man of imagination, the fiction writer, are indeed grave; for are not the prospective sinner who 'weaves his plot of crime' and the fiction writer who imagines a 'scheme of guilt'[26] sinful to the same degree? Indeed, says Hawthorne:

> A novel writer, or a dramatist, in creating a
> villain of romance, and fitting him with evil
> deeds, and the villain of actual life, in
> projecting crimes that will be perpetrated,
> may almost meet each other half-way between
> reality and fancy. 27

Nina Baym has observed that 'because in The Scarlet Letter the A signifies a social crime, Hawthorne suggests that the writing of his romance is in some sense an analogously guilty act'.[28] Is the writing of fiction then, with its emphasis on the revelation of secret sin in the recesses of the hearts and souls of its characters, not similar to the obsessive curiosity and compulsive seeking out of 'Innate Depravity' that condemns Ethan Brand, Chillingworth and Roderick Elliston to a lonely insular existence ? More particularly, are not these men, all spurious artist-figures, guilty of projecting their own diseased imagination upon their victims? Herein lies a moral and aesthetic dilemma that pursued

Hawthorne throughout his career. And herein lies the ironic reversal of this morality tale: for unlike the prospective sinner who must restrain himself from the execution of his sinful thoughts, the prospective writer is guilty if he enters the 'neutral territory' between reality and fancy and does not project the crimes in such a way 'as to seem, in the glow of fancy, more like truth, past, present, or to come, than purely fiction'.[29] In 'Fancy's Show Box' Hawthorne has not succeeded in converting' snow images into men and women'[30] and the tale remains diagrammatic rather than dramatic.

Hawthorne's analysis of guilt consciousness and its resultant isolation is seldom schematic or simplistic. In tale after tale he explores the different facets of guilt - cause, manifestation and effect. Often the cause is oblique, enigmatic, and Hawthorne focuses rather upon the form that the experience of guilt assumes, as in 'The Minister's Black Veil' for example, or upon the agonising effects of such guilt as in 'Egotism;or the Bosom Serpent'. The very obscurity of the origins of guilt emphasizes its generic nature. Thorslev has acutely observed that by placing the sin of Minister Hooper into the antecedent action, Hawthorne 'de-emphasizes' the moment of moral choice and therefore makes it a type of original sin. The same might be said of 'Ethan Brand'.[31] Whatever his particular focus Hawthorne's preoccupation with guilt is his preoccupation with time. The tragic temporality of the Puritan conscience informs all of Hawthorne's writing. His narrative rhythm which mirrors the rhythm of human life is outlined in 'The Haunted Mind':

> You emerge from mystery, pass through a vicissitude that you can but imperfectly control, and are borne onward to another mystery. 32

Caught between the mysteries of birth and death, of the past and the future, how is mortal, sinful man to escape this inevitable journey? Some, like

Aylmer, try to discover a present free of sin and of the past; others, like Dr. Heidegger, try to conquer the future by discovering the elixir of life; still others like Peter Goldthwaite and the White Old Maid attempt to stop the flow of time by freezing a present moment. All of these experiments end in failure, for Hawthorne understands that identity and knowledge are achieved, not through escape, but through a clear-sighted confrontation with human imperfections. And it is the past that first receives his steady, unflinching, yet compassionate scrutiny.

Hawthorne's 'very acute historical sense', his 'sense of the past', has been noted by T.S. Eliot[33]. Hawthorne would have endorsed the view expressed by Eliot in the Four Quartets that

> A people without history
> Is not redeemed from time,
> for history is a pattern
> Of timeless moments.

This 'historic consciousness'[34] is not historical in the narrow sense of a methodical and scientific recording of specific socio-economic and political events which can be traced in the development of a nation. More particularly it is a 'firm grip on the past'[35] in terms of public events, archetypal patterns and psychological recollections. In an attempt to examine Hawthorne's 'sense of the past' in its widest scope I have been forced to resort to an artificial, and not entirely satisfactory, though convenient, categorisation of his tales. I have distinguished between those tales that have a specific historical import, and those that have mythical reverberations. However, the great tales which issue from his fully extended imaginative vision evade all schematic reduction: in discussing these I will be forced to waive the arbitrary divisions that I have set up if I am not to misrepresent their structural and thematic complexity.

The Historical Imagination

It is uncertain to what extent Hawthorne was directly influenced by the great philosophers of his time but he must certainly have been influenced by the Zeitgeist which determined the availability of modes and ideas. It is unlikely that he would not have responded to and absorbed the far-reaching effects of the writings of such men as Kant, Hegel, Vico and Herder.[36] Hawthorne was no philosopher but his discursive and imaginative writing is illustrative of his profound concern with the unpredictable contingencies of history.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed an ontological and epistemological revolution in the history of philosophy, particularly in regard to the concept of time in human experience. In a post-Cartesian, post-Humean era, human existence could no longer be conceived in terms of eternal truths or permanent, stable social and political structures; moreover, the individual, faced with constant change, and with a sense of the self as no more than an aggregate of separate and disconnected impressions, began to have doubts about his own identity and about the value of existence as a timeless continuum. Like Kant, Hawthorne was concerned with the question of how the qualities of continuity and unity could arise out of the temporal succession of discontinuous, disparate events. Like Hegel, he turned to history, and particularly to historical process, in order to impose a sense of structure and permanence upon the flow of time.

History as the medium of organic growth and fundamental change necessarily connects the present with its past, and provides a notion of the meaningful continuity of human experience. But the individual's experience of time

is not only a knowledge of the large-scale cosmic evolution of an objective public time. He also has a subjective and private apprehension of time: his memory of a personal past; his will to accept or reject the demands of the present; his effort to conquer time, to escape from the tyranny of the temporal, and to find a modicum of stability in the ceaseless flux. The self, according to Kant, is not merely a passive recipient of stimuli, external or internal, but an active force which controls, orders and modifies these stimuli. Kant conceives of time as purely an a priori subjective condition, 'nothing else than the form of the internal sense, that is, of the intuitions of self and of our internal state'.[37] Space and time, as Kant describes them, are 'mere creations of the imagination'.[40] The individual, therefore is not only a subject of historical movements, he is also the maker of history. Vico expressed the same idea in his principle of 'verum factum': that which man recognizes as true (verum) and that which he has himself made (factum) are one and the same. In his historical fiction Hawthorne is concerned with this double time-scheme: the objective sidereal time based on a principle of causality and linearity, and measured by public events, chronometers and calendars; and subjective time based on 'a non-uniform dynamic order of events'[39] and measured by an associative memory or what Meyerhoff calls ' the logic of images',[40] whereby the consciousness, by memory or desire, will completely merge any given moment of the present with the whole personal past and future.

The interaction between an objective and subjective time scheme is translated in Hawthorne's literary works as the existential struggle between the individual and his society, between the 'self' and the 'other' (to use appropriate Sartrean terms). And for Hawthorne continuity

in history is a matter of the interrelations of these struggles which can and should be expressed imaginatively in literature; or as Roy Harvey Pearce puts it, literature is a means of 'comprehending that dialectical opposition which characterizes our knowledge of ourselves in our history'.[41] Pearce also quotes Lionel Trilling's description of 'the opposing self':

> The function of literature, through all its mutations, has been to make us aware of the particularity of selves, and the high authority of the self in its quarrel with its society and its culture. 42

Hawthorne's historicist imagination is not only directed towards the thematic concerns of many of his works; it defines the artistic function and process itself and includes in its perspective 'author, actor, and reader'[43] as they are joined in the continuum of history. For the artist as creator is yet another 'opposing self' who, in asserting his own individual identity does so in the context of his national identity. The creative act arises from the existential struggle of a tradition-bound artist to rescue his society from reductive stasis. But there is yet another existential struggle that the artist must confront - the recalcitrant medium of his art, the old forms of an acculturated language and accepted literary modes which are inadequate to express his own personal vision. Tony Tanner comments on the duality of American ideology. He argues on the one hand that

> there is an abiding dream in American literature that an unpatterned, unconditioned life is possible, in which your movements and stillnesses, choices and repudiations are all your own;

and on the other,

> there is also an abiding American dread that someone else is patterning your life, that there are all sorts of invisible plots afoot to rob you of your autonomy of thought and action, that conditioning is ubiquitous.44

The writer's concern is 'that his own consciousness may be predetermined and channelled by the language he has been born into'.[45] This creates a problem for the writer - does he subscribe to the given inherited linguistic structure or does he question, and disturb the given structure in order to project his own identity and his own consciousness? The destruction of the old forms can only be achieved at the expense of a meaningful continuity of cultural history. The historical role of the artist therefore, is the search for a form which will maintain a tension between old and new, and this is the stuff of historical movement. Thus Pearce defines the implications of the artist-society relationship as 'freedom in, not from, history'.[46]

In 'The Custom House' Hawthorne finds the scarlet letter which is a repository of the entire cultural past of the American nation. The scarlet A is a symbol of language whereby man describes, defines and structures his world. The writer through his medium of language can transform the old limiting culturally-defined categories and show the way to a new vision which is not yet adopted by society. Thus through the writer's structuring powers in the novel, the scarlet A symbolizes the future direction of the American nation, as in the sketch it represents its past history: Adulteress becomes Able, Adam becomes American; Old World becomes New World as old word becomes new word. Kermode notes:

> In the end Hester's A takes the place of the old armorial bearings on the tomb; a new type, a new-world-type, to be interpreted by the imagination, by the choosing reader, in place of the fixed senses of the old, though the inscription ironically uses the old precise heraldic language: 'On a field, sable, the letter A, gules'. 47

'The Custom House' is a fitting place to begin a study of Hawthorne's historical imagination.[48] The 'spacious edifice of brick'[49] connects 'forgotten and following ages with each other, and half constitutes the

identity, as it concentrates the sympathy, of nations'.[50] The custom house links the present republic with the colonial era of the past, both temporally and morally. As a metaphor for national identity it ironically shares with its sister institutions in The Scarlet Letter the gloomy functions of a prison-cemetery. Images of age, decay and death abound in the sketch: the Custom House is 'cobwebbed and dingy with old paint';[51] the view from its front windows presents the 'not very enlivening prospects'[52] of 'decayed wooden warehouses' and a 'dilapidated wharf',[53] relics of 'our decaying trade'[54] of shipping; the officials of the custom house are aged men, 'gouty and rheumatic, or perhaps bedridden',[55] whose torpid lives consist of a slumberous existence punctuated occasionally by 'the several thousandth repetition of old sea stories, and mouldy jokes'.[56]

Hawthorne himself is an 'idler'[57] whose 'strange, indolent, unjoyous attachment for [his] native town'[58] has resulted in his appointment as Customs Surveyor. The Custom House may be seen as 'the analogue of the Surveyor's own consciousness'.[59] His motives for taking the appointment are two-fold: on the one hand he is disillusioned with the 'impracticable schemes'[60] for reform and with transcendental philosophy, and feels a need to rediscover the 'opaque substance of today';[61] on the other hand he is driven by 'a sort of home-feeling for the past',[62] a compulsion to return to his native place and to renew his connections with ancestors of three centuries' standing. Each of these motives, seemingly so different, will, Hawthorne hopes, enable him to 'open an intercourse with the world': by taking official public employment in his native Salem, he hopes to discover his personal, social and national identity.

However, far from plunging him into the midst of social life, the Custom House thoroughly isolates him in its 'chillest of social atmospheres'.[63] The 'dreamy brethren'[64] of Brook Farm have been replaced by 'a set of wearisome old souls, who had gathered nothing worth preservation from their varied experience of life'.[65] His rejection of the 'fantastic speculations'[66] of transcendentalism has led him to the stultifying materiality of the Custom House where his imagination becomes 'a tarnished mirror'[67]. Moreover, his 'home-feeling for the past' appears to be no more than 'a mere sensuous sympathy of dust for dust'.[68] The 'doom'[69] that weighs so heavily upon him is the burden of guilt and mortality that has been inherited from his forefathers. And yet the narrative tone is not one of unremitting gloom; on the contrary all who are subjected to the narrator's keen scrutiny, whether men of the past or the present are treated to his sympathetic irony, to that 'doubleness of judgement'[70] which is his most characteristic stance. Thus he both admires and deplores his severe, persecuting progenitors who were men of 'war and peace' and whose 'Puritanic traits, both good and evil'[71] have 'intertwined themselves' with his own; and thus Hawthorne both accuses and defends himself as an 'idler' and 'writer of storybooks'.[72]

It is in the Custom House that he learns that 'the past was not dead'.[73] The Custom House proves to be not only a cemetery, but also a place of birth, as Hawthorne repeats once more the rhythm of escape and return:

> It was not the first time, nor the second, that I had gone away - as it seemed, permanently - but yet returned. 74

The decapitation and burial of the Surveyor gives way to the rebirth of the writer:

> So much for my figurative self. The real human being, all this time, with his head safely on his shoulders, had brought himself to the comfortable conclusion that everything was for the best. 75

The Custom House is now a house-of-fiction and the signature of the Surveyor imprinted on 'pepper-bags, and baskets of anatto, and cigar boxes' is replaced by the signature of the literary man 'blazoned abroad' on the title page of The Scarlet Letter.[76] It is the discovery of the letter which revives Hawthorne's creative impulse. He carefully controls the narrative pace in the account of the discovery: beginning with a slow deliberate curiosity, the pace gradually quickens as his full imaginative response becomes engaged with the letter:

> Certainly, there was some deep meaning in it, most worthy of interpretation and which, as it were, streamed forth from the mystic symbol, subtly communicating itself to my sensibilities, but ev[illegible] the analysis of my mind. 77

In describing the process of discovery Hawthorne has described the imaginative process, the process of fiction-making.

Hawthorne accepts the burden of history imposed upon him by his forefathers. In telling the story of Hester Prynne he accepts the burning sensation of 'the mystic symbol'; by taking the burden of shame upon himself he redeems the stains of the past. If, however, he is to make 'the Past do all it can'[78] he cannot merely repeat the antiquarian documentation of his 'official ancestor',[79] Surveyor Pue. In Our Old Home Hawthorne writes:

> We neither remember nor care anything for the past, except as the poet has made it intelligibly noble and sublime to our comprehension. The shades of the mighty have no substance... save when the poet has thrown his own creative soul into them, and imparted a more vivid light than ever they were able to manifest while they dwelt in the body. 80

The 'mouldy and moth-eaten lucubrations'[81] of Pue must be revitalized and given relevance; the past must be experienced as present and immediate. For the artist, the burden of history is aesthetic as well as moral and so Hawthorne formulates a poetics of fiction. The historical romance if it is effectively to suggest a temporal continuity between past and present must not consist of a recorded list of past events or a 'Virtuoso's Collection' of past relics and artefacts; it must not deal with the truth of actual events but with 'the truth of the human heart'[82]. Georg Lukacs echoes these ideas in The Historical Novel:

> What matters therefore in the historical novel is not the retelling of great historical events, but the poetic awakening of the people who figured in those events. What matters is that we should re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in historical reality. 83

Thus the romance, occupying its 'neutral territory somewhere between the real world and fairyland' can claim to deal with experiential truth. Just as 'the Actual and the Imaginary may meet, and each imbue itself with the nature of the other'[84] so in this 'neutral territory' past and present meet, for, as Wil Dilthey says, 'to reconstruct is to re-live'.[85] Hawthorne finds new constructs for his art which synthesize subjective and objective reality. The letter found in the Custom House is an artefact, which is transformed into a fictional narrative in order to present a truthful image of the temporal unfolding of human experience.

With the assistance of the complex lighting of his house-of-fiction in which the moonlight serves to spiritualize the actual, and the fire imbues 'snow images' with warmth and substantiality, the looking glass

of Hawthorne's imagination like the Madeira glass in 'Fancy's Show Box' reflects a new reality which partakes of both the 'real world and fairyland'.

'Alice Doane's Appeal' (1835) is a very early example of Hawthorne's experimentation with different fictional modes, the Gothic tale of witchcraft belonging to the realm of 'fairyland', and the historical account of witchcraft to that of 'the real world'. Hawthorne had a personal interest in witchcraft. His ancestor, John Hathorne, a second generation Puritan and the son of William Hathorne who had cruelly persecuted the Quakers, presided over the ignominious witch trials in 1692, and drew a curse on his own head. In The House of the Seven Gables Hawthorne questions whether a latter-day descendant 'conscious of wrong, and failing to rectify it - did not commit anew the great guilt of his ancestor, and incur all its original responsibilities'.[86] In his fiction Hawthorne attempts to rectify the wrong: by uncovering the moral self-delusion, religious hypocrisy and righteous sadism of ancestral guilt, he acknowledges his shared responsibility and in so doing redeems the inherited curse.

Leonard Doane's story is a conventional Gothic tale which does not differ markedly from its prototype. All the sensational Gothic features are included: incest, the doppelganger motif, murder, wizardry, the resurrection of the damned. Hawthorne uses these conventional motifs to enforce his recurrent theme - the present cannot shake off the past, whether personal or cultural. Leonard Doane's murder of Walter Brome is his attempt to eradicate the discovery of his own involvement in sin and guilt. For Walter Brome is his alter ego, his id, his 'very counterpart',

who, proving 'a hateful sympathy in [their] secret souls' reveals to Leonard his own repressed wickedness, his 'fierce and deep passions',[87] his carnal and incestuous desire for his sister, and also Alice's potentially 'impure passion'.[88] Leonard's horror at this discovery leads him to murder Walter which ironically does not free him from guilt but permanently implicates him: Leonard sees in Walter's face not only his own reflection but the likeness of his father, and he is thus forced to acknowledge his sinful heritage, which is reinforced by the wizard's resurrection of the accursed souls of his dead ancestors.

The gloomy Gothic tale fails either to enlighten or to 'overcome the gayety of girlish spirits' of the narrator's audience. But that is exactly Hawthorne's point. The conventional, tired forms of fiction expected by a complacent reading public who are 'people of the present and have no heartfelt interest in the olden time' (italics mine) are inadequate to describe the 'real guilt and phrenzy [that] consummated the most execrable scene'[90] of national guilt. Hawthorne attempts to find a fictional mode which will reach 'the seldom trodden places of their hearts, and [find] the well-spring of their tears'.[91] (Italics mine).

The narrator's story is not Doane's story: it is the struggle of the artist with his own aesthetic past, the struggle to make new words out of old words, new forms out of old forms. It is the story of his relationship with his readers (both 'narratees' and 'implied readers')[92] and his attempt to restructure their cultural, moral and aesthetic awareness through fiction. And it is the more interesting and moving story; whereas Doane's story is presented, the narrator's is gradually unfolded in a rhythmic tension of trial and error, aspiration and defeat.

The temporal structure of Doane's story is manipulated by the author-narrator who satisfies his reader's atavistic demand for suspense by presenting the story in the past, at the climactic moment of murder, and then analyzing motivation by the various techniques of confession, description, summary, spectral processions, leaving the reader as mystified at the end as he was in the beginning, for 'all the incidents were results of the machinations of the wizard'.[93] In contrast the narrator's story moves sequentially from 'a pleasant afternoon in June' in the present to dusk of the same day, having included a momentary vision of the past which cuts across the progressive unfolding of the plot. This enables the wizardry of the narrator to erect a monument to both the innocent and guilty participants of the witchcraft terror, a monument which is a new construct commemorating past and present.

The frame structure enables Hawthorne to explore the different imaginative potential of disparate genres of fiction.[94] It is not simply a tale-within-a-tale, but two tales within a tale which comment upon one another and test their respective capacities as vehicles of truth. The self-consciousness of Hawthorne's style calls attention to itself as a work of fiction, thereby drawing the reader into the imaginative and interpretative process which Hawthorne demands that he share with the artist.

Hawthorne attempts to re-write history and to lead his young female audience away from 'the momentary blaze' of the present in order to 'obey the summons of the shadowy past'.[95] For, like Leonard Doane, Hawthorne's young companions complacently ignore their national heritage of shame and guilt perpetrated on Gallows Hill. The Gothic tale fails to present the truths of witchcraft because its mode of vision like that

of its protagonist, Leonard, is faulty and deluded. Leonard's di_eased imagination' causes him to see sin when it is not there, and to transfer his own guilt onto Walter Brome, his father, his sister and the entire procession of the resurrected dead, 'the whole miserable multitude, both sinful souls and false spectres of good men'.[96] (Italics mine). Leonard's horribly distorted and morbidly Puritanical vision of universal sinfulness is related to the historical events of the witch trials. The superstitious and intolerant 'state of mind that led to the hanging of innocent victims in Salem in 1692 is of a piece with the "diseased imagination" which permits Leonard to see around him tokens of his own repressed evil and libidinous urges'.[97]

Hawthorne has failed in 'Alice Doane's Appeal' to create a 'neutral territory...where the Actual and the Imaginary may meet'. The disparate modes are not synthesized but remain antithetical to one another. Morally and aesthetically, Hawthorne's fictional and historical characters, Doane, Cotton Mather, the young female narratees, remain 'snow images', 'glittering in icy garments, with motionless features, cold-sparkling eyes, and just sensation enough in their frozen hearts to shiver at each other's presence'.[98] In 'Young Goodman Brown' Hawthorne achieves the creative synthesis lacking in this tale. But the value of 'Alice Doane's Appeal' lies not in the achievement but in the experimental search for a 'monument' which will commemorate the historical continuity of 'holy cause'[99] and human error alike.

This notion of the doubleness of historical movement is summarized by Lukacs:

> The appeal to national independence and national character is necessarily connected with a re-awakening of national history, with memories of the past, of past greatness, of moments of national dishonour, whether this results in a progressive or reactionary ideology. 100

Hawthorne was clearly attracted to Hegel's philosophy of history but he could not commit himself to the Hegelian vision of 'progressive historicism'.[101] Like Hegel Hawthorne saw history as a process, the essence of which is a dialectic of opposites: on the one hand, the positive aspect of growth, the emergence of something new; on the other the negative aspect of rejection, the discarding of the old. Like Hegel he believed that historical change is necessary and inevitable and is made possible by the conflict between the claims of the individual and the demands of society. Unlike Hegel he was not convinced that such a change was in the direction of progress. 'The elements of progress and decline were strangely mingled in the modern mind' said Ruskin,[102] and his words are particularly applicable to Hawthorne who, as Kermode notes, 'has in extraordinary degree, the "modernist" sense of a future whose relation to the past is more than ever before ambiguous'.[103]

For the most part American historians propagated the myth of the progressive westward movement towards political,social, moral and religious freedom which was to reach its fullest expression in the Revolution. Thus in 1726 Berkeley wrote:

> Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way;
> The four first Acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the Drama with the Day;
> Time's noblest Offspring is the last. 104

And Crèvecoeur announced in 1786:

> All I wish to delineate is, the progressive steps of a poor man advancing from indigence to ease; from oppression to freedom; from obscurity and contumely to some degree of consequence - not by virtue of any freaks of fortune, but by the gradual operation of sobriety, honesty, and emigration. 105

The movement from East to West, from the Old World to the New was a movement in time as well as in space, from the past into future. But as Fussell notes 'front' implies 'back' and thus the progressive westward victory over the forest implies cultural regression.[106] Hawthorne, he claims, sustains

> [an] ironic vision of the horrors and glories being enacted on that ever-receding frontier where the newest nation was likewise articulating its uniquely millenial spirit and applying that spirit to the rapid solution of humanity's age-old problems. 107

Hawthorne prefigures Henry Adams' vision of exhaustion and decline. The Pyncheon hens deteriorate and shrink in a declining regression from their type; the English rose withers in the American soil; Endicott's wife, 'a rose of beauty from an English garden, now transplanted in the American soil',[108] dies leaving no posterity; all Tobias Pearson's children perish in the New World. Hawthorne writes of his own anguish:

> It was impossible...not to imbibe the idea...that the crust of the earth in many places was broken, and its whole surface portentously heaving; that it was a day of crisis and that we ourselves were in the critical vortex. 109

Adams predicts that our universe in now approaching complete dissolution, and he counsels us to find in art what poise we can as we await the end. He reveals his despair of the whole historical process:

> But as the mind of man enlarged its range it enlarged the field of complexity, and must continue to do so, even into chaos, until the reservoirs of sensuous or supersensuous energies are exhausted, or cease to affect him, or until he succumbs to their excess. 110

In 'Main Street' (1849) Hawthorne outlines his philosophy of history transmuted into art. Once again the narrator is an artist-historian,

a showman who visually and verbally presents a panorama of historical process. His ordering of his material, his manipulation of the temporal unfolding of events, his control of light and shade fail to meet the approval of his audience who demand verisimilitude of details. To the spectators the showman is distorting the facts, to the showman his audience does not have 'the proper point of view'[111] to 'spiritualize matter'. He knows that 'human art has its limits' and requires 'a little aid from the spectator's imagination'.[112] There are two ways of presenting history: from the heights of the present one can look down on the past and present a panoramic distanced, synoptic perspective; or one can recreate a close-up view of a day-to-day existential drama. The showman uses both techniques to entertain and enlighten his audience.

The central symbol in the sketch is Main-Street itself: the changing shape and direction of the street is the changing shape of the social psyche. Before the genesis of human structures the ancient primitive forest was timeless: 'ever-youthful and venerably old' it knew only the harmony and abundance of the seasonal cycles. If the subhuman wilderness is a state of timeless 'being', history is a process of 'becoming' and in order for civilisation to be born man must give direction and structure to his environment. Soon, therefore, the traces of men are evident in a faint path 'running nearly east and west'.[113] The primal civilisation of the Indians exists in an Edenic mystic harmony with the wilderness; but Hawthorne is not naive about historical evolution and he notes with irony the complacency of a culture that believes that their own system will endure for ever, when in reality all that will remain will be a few relics of a 'vanished race'.[114] The matriarchy of Squaw Sachem is supplanted by the stern patriarchy of the Puritans who lay the pavements of their Main-Street 'over the red man's grave' and banish the 'wild

woods, the wild wolf, and the wild Indian'[115] to the forbidden territory where evil lurks in the dark forest which is also the primal 'heart of darkness' in every man.

History is set in motion by 'that class of men who do not merely find, but make their place in the system of human affairs'[116] and so the early settlers, like artists, build their homes combining the traditions of the past with the new style of the present. Like Hegel, Hawthorne recognizes that in building his civilisation, man creates institutions and rules that are simultaneously his own products and alien constraints upon him. Thus, after a while,

> the zeal of a recovered faith [which] burned like a lamp within their hearts enriching everything around them with its radiance...began to burn more dimly, or with a less genuine lustre; and then it might be seen, how hard, cold and confined was their system, - how like an iron cage was that which they called Liberty! 117

The log-cabin houses give way to the neo-Gothic gabled structures which now line Main-Street, and which, in spite of 'all the progressive decay and continual reconstruction of the street... have been preserved through a length of time which would have tried brick and stone'.[118] The change in domestic architecture signals a regressive change in the moral tenor of the Puritans. The first settlers were 'stern, severe, and intolerant'[119] men and their iron rule was harsh and grim; but they were fired with a religious ardour which subsequent generations have forgotten and have replaced with religious gloom, hypocrisy and superstition. 'The sons and grandchildren of the first settlers', says Hawthorne, 'were a race of lower and narrower souls than their progenitors had been'.[120] Fear for the security of the theocracy leads the Puritans to inflict ignominies on their enemies, and Main-Street witnesses the cruel persecution of the Quakers and the martyrdom of the

witches. Hawthorne does not have an unqualified conviction about the progress or decline of the Puritan spirit:

> Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors; and let each successive generation thank him, not less fervently, for being one step further from them in the march of ages. 121

His judgement is paradoxical: having just illustrated a declining movement, he here suggests that subsequent generations exemplify evolutionary betterment. And yet even this is uncertain, for just as the Great Snow of 1717 obliterates Main-Street, so the apparatus breaks down and the future remains unknown. Only one thing is certain: the relentless onward march of time is a constant reminder of man's mortality, and the unavailability of the future implies that the history of mankind is a macroscosmic repetition of the destiny of a single man. As Hawthorne says in 'The Custom House':

> Neither the front nor the back entrance of the Custom House opens on the road to Paradise. 122

What Hawthorne perceives is the inherent paradox in the myth of futurity. The two most momentous and influential events in the westward movement and the quest for liberty were the exodus from England and the American Revolution. From their vantage point the nineteenth century historians wanted to glorify the legendary heroes of both events. In terms of the myth of progressive evolution the revolutionary heroes are ennobled as having achieved the pinnacle of freedom. This, however, would mean an undervaluing of the colonial achievement of the past. If, on the other hand, the noble founding fathers are revered in comparison with their intolerant less heroic descendants then a process of decline is in operation which makes nonsense of historical progress.[123] Moreover the Civil War of the 1860's was to cast a doubt upon the 'absolute'

achievement of liberty in the previous century. In 'Old News' (1835) Hawthorne has a foreboding of the civil disaster:

> Almost all our impressions, in regard to this period are unpleasant, whether referring to the state of civil society, or to the character of the contest, which, especially where native Americans were opposed to each other, was waged with the deadly hatred of fraternal enemies. It is the beauty of war, for men to commit mutual havoc with undisturbed good humour. 124

Hawthorne's double view of history enables him to embrace these contradictions: he was not concerned with judging the past but with understanding its complexity in an effort to comprehend the complexity and contradictions of the present.[125] As Leavis puts it:

> Hawthorne's sense of being part of the contemporary America could be expressed only in concern for its evolution - he needed to show how it had come about, and by discovering what America had, culturally speaking, started from and with, to find what choices had faced his countrymen and what they had to sacrifice in order to create that distinctive 'organic whole'. 126

Hawthorne's attitude to his own forbears was, as we have seen, ambivalent. On the one hand they were men of integrity, fortitude and self-reliance, the noble founders of a democratic nation; on the other hand they were enemies to independence and individual liberty. This same balanced view can be seen in 'Endicott and the Red Cross'(1837) and 'The Gray Champion' (1835) where the type of revolutionary spirit is enacted by the two protagonists.

The doctrine of typology was an essential aspect of the Puritan theocracy. The exodus from the Old World is an antitype of the Exodus of the Jews from Egypt; the American forest is an antitype of the wilderness of Canaan which itself is perhaps an antitype of the primal wilderness of Eden. In the same way every conflict between liberty and tyranny, democracy and monarchy could be seen as a type of the victory of liberty

over tyranny - the American War of Independence. But as Kermode notes, the meaning of 'type' has changed and requires redefinition and transformation to accommodate a new view of history in which both past and future are inconceivable in absolute terms:

> For the word itself implies an event to be fulfilled in the future, and that future no one could now predict. 127

It is Kermode's contention that Hawthorne transforms the notion of types in order to incorporate ambiguity and uncertainty which are the keynotes of the modern age.

In 'Endicott and the Red Cross' we are asked to

> look back through the mist of ages, and recognize, in the rending of the Red Cross from New England's banner, the first omen of that deliverance which our fathers consummated, after the bones of the stern Puritan had lain more than a century in the dust. 128

Endicott's deed is an heroic act of self-definition and self-reliance and as such it is the type of courageous independence of which the American Revolution is the antitype. But Endicott the type and champion of liberty is also guilty of the most severe intolerance, and so the type has become ambiguous. Dauber suggests that 'the tales of the American Revolution assert a myth of the American past only to reject it'.[129] Endicott the type of independence is also the type of tyranny. Reflected on his breastplate is not only the house of prayer but also all the punitive instruments of the intolerant severe Puritanic authority. Endicott's oration, ringing with scriptural resonance as he appeals for 'the enjoyment of our civil rights' and 'for liberty to worship God according to our conscience' is repudiated by the ironic question of the Wanton Gospeller, a Quaker victim of Puritan intolerance: 'Call you this liberty of conscience?'[130] Thus Endicott, the 'man of iron', is a representative of the founding father of the New America, who flees from persecution in the Old World only to establish it firmly in

the New World; who fights for liberty and democracy at the expense of humanity.

The 'Gray Champion' is also 'the type of New England's hereditary spirit'.[131] Hawthorne has used an old legend based on two traditions, the 'Angel of Hadley' story and the regicide story, both of which have historical and symbolical significance. However, by summoning the legend from its fairytale realm of 'there was once a time' and giving it a specific historical setting in 1689 during the Boston revolt against the royalist government of Sir Edmund Andros, Hawthorne extends an established legend to another time and place. The temporal perspective of the tale is complex and shifting: the fictional present of 1689 incorporates the past of the Pilgrim Fathers, the future of the American Revolution, the nineteenth-century future of Hawthorne and his contemporary readers and the indefinite future of an implied reading public, all of whom are involved in protecting '<u>our</u> free soil'[132] from 'domestic tyranny' and 'the invader's step'.[133] (Italics mine). In the same way the Gray Champion looks both backwards and forwards in time incorporating in his 'stately form' the solemn nobility of the patriarchs and the heroic dignity of the Revolutionary spirit; he is the 'champion of the righteous cause' who will ensure 'the deliverance of New England'.[134] However, the nobility of the 'hereditary spirit'[135] of the New England Puritans is not unconditional: if their oppressors are guilty of 'unjust authority', ready 'to deluge the street with blood',[136] they too have 'burnt villages and slaughtered young and old, with pious fierceness'.[137]

The Gray Champion shares this ambiguity. The drum roll of a specific moment in history calls him into being but he emerges from the 'twilight shadow',[138] shrouded in unfathomable mystery. The identity and even the

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existence of the Gray Champion remains enigmatic to the end. Old and young alike ask:

> 'But where was the Gray Champion?.. And who was the Gray Champion?'

He 'faded from their eyes, melting slowly into the hues of twilight',[139] leaving them with their unanswere questions and hesitant, arbitrary interpretations. The old legend, retold, has generated a new ironic type whose 'shadowy march' through history 'must ever be the pledge, that New-England's sons will vindicate their ancestry'.[140] (Italics mine)

Hawthorne's double vision is dramatised in 'The Gentle Boy' (1832). Pearce observes that Hawthorne's method here is to use

> a tale to define a historical rationale in such a way as to explore its immediately, particularly and individualistically human implications and possibilities. 141

The Quakers are not presented, as they are in 'Main-Street', as a tableau of cruelly persecuted martyrs. Their suffering is known experientially by the gentle boy, Ilbrahim and his mother Catherine, victims of the 'uncompromising bigotry' and 'brutal cruelty'[142] of the 'iron hearts'[143] of the Puritans. But if Ilbraham is a victim of Puritan intolerance, he is equally a victim of the 'unbridled fanaticism'[144] of his Quaker mother who 'breaks] the bonds of natural affection'[145] and violates 'the duties of her present life and the future, by fixing her attention wholly on the latter'.[146] In neglecting her child Catherine negates the continuum of time and historical process. Orphaned, rootless, yet dogged by his past which the Puritans will not allow him to forget, Ilbrahim is denied both a present and a future home[147] and so he withers like a 'cankered rosebud'.[148] Hawthorne is careful to balance the excesses of the Puritans with those of the Quakers. On both sides there is hate and pride; the 'enthusiasm, heightened almost to madness'

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of the Quakers is gratuitously punished by the 'violent and hasty passions'[149] of Endicott; the 'unbridled fanaticism' of Catherine is echoed in the 'unbreeched fanaticism'[150] of the Puritan children.

More successfully than in 'Alice Doane's Appeal' Hawthorne fuses history and fiction, illustrating the effects of history on the lives of individuals.[151] For Ilbrahim is not the story's only victim; Tobias Pearson is also a victim of his fellow Puritans , of history, of time itself. 'The Gentle Boy' outlines the problems involved in historical 'becoming'; the difficulty of transplantation in the New World; the burden of self-definition in a hostile environment and rigid social structure.

The narrator carefully controls the temporal unfolding of the story, the time span of which is long enough to illustrate the gradual transformation of Pearson and Ilbrahim, whose quest for a home remains fruitless to the end. The structural variation of pace and mode of presentation reinforces the thematic concerns. Synoptic descriptions provide a sense of duration and present events from a detached abstract point of view in which time is perceived objectively. The pace and the perspective change when scenes are dramatically presented and time is experienced existentially and subjectively. Each of these dramatic scenes represents the confrontation of the individual with a hostile society and the effects of this struggle: the meeting of Tobias and Ilbrahim, the scene in the church, the persecution of the gentle boy by the Puritan children, and the death of Ilbrahim. The narrative time approximates the fictional time of the events and the time of reading about these events: thus author, actor and reader participate in the experience simultaneously. The past events are transposed by the reader into a fictive present which lends

an immediacy to the dramatic scenes, in contrast to all other expository material such as the summary of Pearson's past life. Once the reader experiences the presentness of the past he is able to recognize the links that bind past and present in a continuum.

In spite of the forward momentum of the story it is also cyclical. When Tobias finds Ilbrahim on the fresh grave of his father, he asks the child, 'Where is your home?' and the child replies, 'My home is here.' With the death of the gentle boy 'who had sprung up out of the grave'[152] the tale ends where it began, at that grave which is the only possible home for Ilbrahim in the New World. Pearson's own children have perished like roses in a foreign soil, his home has become increasingly derelict, and he himself is desolate, sorrowful and rebellious in his grief. The American dream of millenial prosperity, happiness, well-being, success, religious and political freedom has proved spurious. Agnes Donohue describes the American experience as 'man's dark odyssey in an alien world.'[153] Only the intolerant Puritan 'baby-fiends' can survive; their 'instinct for destruction', inherited from their fathers, is yet 'far more loathsome than the blood-thirstiness of manhood'.[154] As symbols of the future they propound a bleak view of moral and spiritual possibilities for their descendants.

But the story is finally Ilbrahim's: the gentle boy is 'an artist of the beautiful' in miniature:

> He seemed to discover rich treasures of happiness, by a faculty analogous to that of the witch-hazle, which points to hidden gold where all is barren to the eye...He was like a domesticated sunbeam, brightening moody countenances, and chasing away gloom from the dark corners of the cottage. [155]

Ilbrahim is 'a sweet infant of the skies, that had strayed away from his home'.[156] Ironically death is for him a homecoming as he escapes

from temporality and makes 'his quiet progres over the borders of eternity'.[157] The future generations of the New World inherit not only the inescapable human destiny of temporality and sin bequeathed them by the Puritan children; they also inherit the immanent possibilities of human love and a vision of eternity bestowed upon them by the gentle boy.[158]

Hawthorne can find no all-embracing pattern which will release man from uncertainty and provide a meaning for the seemingly incomprehensible flux of life. Continuity in history is not a matter of transcendental progress, but of the complex and contradictory conflicts between opposing forces. Thus when he comes to write about the Revolution, the high moment in American history, the culminating victory of democracy over monarchic rule, towards which all former types of emergent liberty had aspired, he is unable to share the confident optimism of the revolutionary war-cry proclaimed by John Hancock, first Governor of the Republic:

> We represent a new race of men, living no longer in the past, scarcely in the present - but projecting our lives forward into the future. Ceasing to model ourselves on ancestral superstitions, it is our faith and principle to press onward, onward! 159

In 'Earth's Holocaust' Hawthorne counters the vision of futurity with the reformers' cry of 'Onward, onward'[160] as all 'terrible instruments of slaughter'[161] are cast upon the gigantic bonfire. The millenial vision of the reformers, however, is itself imperfect, for the ultimate reality is that 'when Cain wished to slay his brother, he was at no loss for a weapon '.[162] Hawthorne was a democrat but for him the basis of democratic brotherhood is mankind's heritage of mortality and sin.

When he writes about the Revolution in 'Legends of the Province House' (1838) he concentrates not on the victory of the revolutionary forces,

but on the defeat of the royalists. The structure of the tales does not follow a linear progression. The fictional present of the first tale is the winter of 1775 during the time of General Howe, the last royal governor to occupy the Province House. The second story takes place in 1770 during the time of Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, and deals with events leading to the Boston Massacre. 'Lady Eleanore's Mantle' moves further back into the past of 1720 when Shute was the first royalist to occupy the Province House. And 'Old Esther Dudley' returns us to 1776 beginning shortly after the first story, with the departure of Howe and ending with the arrival of Hancock at the close of the Revolution. This structure suggests a pattern of cyclical recurrence which is reinforced by the seasonal cycle described in the frame, by the sky which still wears 'the same visage as when it frowned upon the anti-revolutionary New Englanders', and by the clock of the Old South Church which, while it tolls the linear and chronological passage of time, also performs its recurrent task of warning past, present and future generations 'how transitory was their life-time'.[163]

The frame structure serves to link the present with the past and to raise questions about the value of 'the usable past' for the present, and about the relationship of fact and fiction in the description of historical events. As a monument of the past the Province House, more so even than the Custom House, is associated with decay and has been relegated to a dingy anonymity: 'the time-honoured mansion'[164] of the royal governors has become a shabby tavern, and now 'the old aristocratic edifice hides its time-worn visage behind an upstart modern building'.[165]

In an effort to recreate the glories of the past the narrator discovers that

> it is desperately hard work, when we attempt to throw the spell of hoar antiquity over localities with which the living world, and the day that is passing over us, have aught to do. 166

The past and the present are at odds; there appears to be no organic connection between them and yet the truth conveyed by the 'Legends' is that 'present being is incorporated with the past',[167] for the present is no more than a passing moment involved in incessant change, constantly looking backwards and forwards for cause and effect, in an attempt to discover the direction and definition of 'present being'. Hawthorne writes in The Marble Faun:

> The life of the flitting moment, existing in the antique shell of an age gone by, has a fascination which we do not find in either the past or present taken by themselves. 168

The poignancy of the tenuous distinction between the past and present is evoked, as the 'flitting moments' of today die into yesterday. Thus there is a theme of death running through the 'Legends' representing the demise of English aristocratic rule.[169] In the first two tales, prophetic warnings of disaster and defeat go unheeded by the complacent self-deluded governors, Howe and Hutchinson. By moving the third story further into the past, the narrator suggests that the cause of the royalist downfall is inherent in the separatist arrogance of the aristocracy represented by Lady Eleanore, who, insulated by her mysterious mantle, has scornfully withdrawn from 'the chain of human sympathies'. It is this mantle, symbolic of pride and scornful superiority, that conveys the pestilence from the Old World to the New, a pestilence which afflicts both rich and poor, tyrants and subjects, rulers and rebels. The mantle is transformed via the small-pox into a new symbol, the red flag of rebellion, carried aloft by its banner-bearer, the scorned, oppressed Jervase Helwyse who incites a violent,

maddened rabble towards the symbolic destruction of tyranny and oppression. The last story 'Old Esther Dudley' by leaping forwards into the future outlines the results of this rebellion. Julian Smith has noted the dramatic and ironic tension between these two stories :

> Chronologically and thematically, "Lady Eleanore's Mantle" and "Old Esther Dudley" are the alpha and omega of aristocratic abuse and suffering. 170

In the former story Jervase Helwyse offers his person as a footstool for Lady Eleanore to tread upon; and 'never surely', says Hawthorne, 'was there an apter emblem of aristocracy and hereditary pride, trampling on human sympathies and the kindred of nature'.[171] Esther Dudley, a faded emblem of nobility is symbolically trampled by Governor Hancock whose 'foot now trod upon humbled Royalty, as he ascended the steps of the Province House'.[172]

Hawthorne's point in these stories is that a failure to take into account the dynamic relationship of past, present and future, a refusal to yield to change and to apprehend history as a process of becoming, is ultimately disastrous. Governor Howe attempts to escape present contingency, but fails to listen to the lessons of the past or the anticipations of the future. Hutchinson, horrified by the example of the past and the prediction of the future, commits himself to the isolated present moment, and in doing so, paradoxically repeats the errors of the past and fulfils the prophecy. His expression in death resembles the frenzied look of Edward Randolph. Old Esther Dudley is imprisoned in the past, divorced from present reality or future hope. Like the Province House she is

> a representative of the decayed past - of an age gone by with its manners, opinions, faith and feelings, all fallen into oblivion or scorn - of what had once been a reality, but was now merely a vision of faded magnificence. 173

Her remaining faculty of memory conjures up a world of shadows and shapes which have no 'proper reference to present things' until she too, 'partially crazed',[174] becomes as unsubstantial as the shadows with which she mingled. Alienating herself from society she becomes a prisoner of her own distorted view of history and time.

The problem for the narrator-historian is the difficulty of knowledge about the past which is blurred by the distance of time, by the unreliable prejudice of an eye-witness, by the distortions of memory, and by that 'tinge of romance approaching to the marvellous'[175] that elaborates legend, tradition and gossip. As Fogle has observed:

> The ambiguity of the 'Legends' is a vision of the Past in the light of the Present, a picture in the frame of distance. [176]

Does the temporal distance from the past provide an illuminating perspective or does it blur the facts? Given history's temporal distancing can one respond imaginatively to the cold facts, or does one need the tinge of the Gothic and the romantic to awaken the historical imagination? Certainly the Province House is void of fascination without 'the best energy of [his] imagination, to throw a tinge or romance and historic grandeur over the realities of the scene.'[177]

In the stories fact and fiction, history and romance, exist side by side. Hawthorne suggests the Aristotelian notion that the artist may be a more effective historian than the chronicler. Each of the stories examines the ability of art to present and interpret historical events. Governor Howe fails to interpret history correctly when he ignores its accurate presentation in the masqued procession of past Governors. Hutchinson, a renowned chronicler, does not have the same historical insight into the portrait of Edward Randolph as his artist-niece,

Alice Vane. Lady Eleanore ignores the doom-laden implications of the embroidered mantle; created by a dying woman who had 'interwoven fate and misery with its golden threads',[178] it is as much a symbol of the death knell of the aristocracy as the funeral bell announcing Lady Eleanore's arrival at the Province House. Esther Dudley is herself an artist, creating from the tarnished mirror of her crazed imagination phantoms and shadows which have little historical validity.

The theme of the fictional presentation and interpretation of history is the central concern of the frame. The narrator receives the historical reminiscences from Mr Bela Tiffany and the old loyalist in the convivial, but hazy atmosphere of cigar smoke, wine and whiskey which obscures and distorts the clarity and accuracy of the report (be it first or second-hand). The 'anecdotes of famous, dead people, and traits of ancient manners'[179] are based on gossip and tradition even older than his elderly raconteurs. The narrator-artist then selects and orders his material based on the 'facts' provided by his sources, but 'not scrupl[cing] to make such further changes as seemed conducive to the readers' profit and delight'.[180] Fusing fact and fancy, superstition and history, he embellishes and reinterpret to present not a factual knowledge but a moral understanding of historical process.

If the chronicling of history is inadequate, the Gothicizing of history is equally unsatisfactory. The narrator, dissatisfied with his work, determines never to return to the Province House. His art must find new forms for the explication of history. Art must not represent the mere 'embroidery' of reality, but a way of knowing it, of coping with it, and of changing it. And so, Hawthorne turns his attention to myth.

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The Mythopoeic Imagination

Hawthorne, says Q.D. Leavis, 'turns...history into myth and anecdote into parable'.[181] Myth is the translation of historical ideas and events into a narrative form which dramatizes the dialogue of opposing ideas as human conflict. Vico was one of the first philosophers who saw the connection between myth and history. Myths are 'the civil histories of the first peoples who were everywhere naturally poets'.[182] Myths therefore have their grounding in actual experience which is then shaped and structured by the human need to generate myths and to use language metaphorically so as to understand, encode and cope with the facts of experience. Levi-Strauss supports and builds on these ideas. He believes that a myth is located in time and yet it is also timeless: it always refers to events that actually occurred in the distant past, and each individual retelling is located in time; yet the recurrent pattern of the myth is timeless, linking the present with both the past and the future. As Thomas Mann has said:

> The essence of the myth is recurrence, timelessness, a perpetual present.

And referring to his recreation of the legend of Joseph he writes:

> 'At any time':therein lies the mystery. For the mystery is timeless, but the form of timelessness is the now and here.... For the essence of life is presentness. 183

Myth, therefore, has both diachronic and synchronic dimensions which operate simultaneously.[184] A similar definition of the archetypal patterns that shape human life is found in 'The Intelligence Office':

> There was an endless diversity of mode and circumstance, yet withal such a similarity in the real ground-work, that any one page of the volume - whether written in the days before the Flood, or the yesterday that is just gone by, or to be written on the morrow that is close at hand, or a thousand ages hence - might serve as a specimen of the whole. 185

Myth has its foundation in a cyclical theory of time. Nietzsche's principle of 'the eternal return of the same'[186] is a means of discovering a timeless existence which is outside and beyond the irreversible movement of time. Thus myth offers 'the cyclic patterns of permanent possibilities of human existence'.[187] Its 'timeless schema'[188] presents the old but ever new stories of the different manifestations of human prototypes and archetypal situations which stage the same play over and over again. In this way myth provides an identification of the individual with a timeless and universal brotherhood of man. History and myth do not exclude one another. History passes into the myth, and the myth provides the ground patterns which are moulded by history's empirical knowledge. As Scholes and Kellogg observe:

> Man's strongest impulse is not to destroy the empirical world; rather it is to transform it into the mythical world, to regain Eden in this life, and to synchronize, once and for all, mythical and empirical reality. 189

Thus myth bridges the gap between universal and individual life, and between eternity and time.

Hawthorne's use of myth accounts for the presentness of his fiction. In his greatest tales the living past and the living future belong to the fullness of the present moment and provide an extension for this moment. The mythopoeic view of time as cycle counters history's teleological linear view of time with its contradictory progressive and regressive directions.[190] The recurrent motif in Hawthorne's mythopoeic vision is that of the quest with its related archetypal themes of the discovery of self, the problem of evil, and the brotherhood of man.[191]

R.B. Lewis has described the myth informing American literature in the nineteenth century as the story of Adam and the Fall of Man. American writers have exploited the full potential of this myth. Some, like Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman, discovered in the Edenic myth a vision of

innocence, newness, freshness, which corresponded with the exodus from the Old World of corruption and the burden of history to the New World of infinite potential and hopeful futurity. To them the Adamic hero was prelapsarian man. He was

> an individual emancipated from history, happily bereft of ancestry, untouched and undefiled by the usual inheritance of family and race; an individual standing alone, self reliant and self propelling. 192

And the Eden that awaited his creative structuring powers was an endless tract of virgin land, a wilderness filled with abundant promise. This interpretation of the American Adam is essentially forward looking and we are reminded of Crevecoeur's famous definition:

> What then is the American, this new man?... He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. 193

For other writers, however, most notably, Hawthorne and Melville, the Adamic story could not be separated from the fall and the doctrine of inherited sin. The tragedy of innocence lies in its temporary and illusory nature and thus the expulsion from Eden is both lamented and celebrated: the fall from innocence is the growth of humanity. In The Marble Faun Hawthorne writes:

> Was that very sin, - into which Adam precipitated himself and all his race, - was it the destined means by which, over a long pathway of toil and sorrow, we are to attain a higher, brighter, and profounder happiness than our lost birthright gave? 194

But Hawthorne is never convinced about the doctrine of felix culpa, the struggles and agonies of man are too intense to be thus explained. In the wilderness of the American Eden, the archetypal hero confronts the inescapable limitations imposed on the self by time and society;

here he discovers the dangerous irrational elements of man's 'common nature'. Hawthorne's ironic perspective embraces both versions of the myth: setting one up against the other he tests their respective validity, fulfilling his mythopoeic role by providing a new individual resolution to the age-old oppositions.

The reworking of Greek mythology in Tanglewood Tales (1853) and A Wonderbook for Boys and Girls (1852) verified Hawthorne's conviction of the existence of indestructible immortal fables created in the primordial childhood of the world and repossessed by men of all epochs. He is aware of the problems inherent in such appropriations, for the myths were first created in the Golden Age when man was still innocent:

> Evil had never yet existed; and sorrow,misfortune, crime, were mere shadows which the mind fancifully created for itself, as a shelter against too sunny realities: or at the most, but prophetic dreams, to which the dreamer himself did not lend a waking credence. Children are now the only representatives of the men and women of that happy era; and therefore it is that we must raise the intellect and fancy to the level of childhood, in order to recreate the original myths. 195

The retelling of myth necessarily implies a double perspective - the ideal unfallen world of myth and the real fallen world of history. It is this duality that Hawthorne examines in 'The Maypole of Merrymount' (1836).

The introduction outlines Hawthorne's aim to transform history into 'philosophical romance'.[196] The facts gleaned from 'Strutt's Book of English Sports and Pastimes' have 'wrought themselves, almost spontaneously, into a sort of allegory'. The struggle between two opposing groups of settlers is an historical one, the outcome of which will define the future ethos of life in New England. Thus, 'jollity and gloom were contending for an empire'.[197] The symbolic centrality of the Maypole,

however, gives a mythic dimension and makes the 'true history a poet's tale'.[198]

The settlers of Merry Mount attempt to recreate an Edenic world free from sin, from labour and from time. Combining primitive and artistic impulses necessary for mythical constructs they appear to retrieve the Golden Age, with the May-pole as their totem. Decorated with the 'liveliest green' of nature and the coloured ribbons of artifice it is a fitting emblem for a people whose life takes the form of a dance and a masquerade. At Merry Mount time must be made to stand still and so the midsummer spirit of the May-pole informs all the seasons, thereby negating the reminder of time's presence in the inevitable seasonal cycle. The May-pole itself defies time as it simultaneously 'preserve[s] the slender grace of youth while it equal[s] the loftiest height of the old wood monarchs'.[199]

The world of Merry Mount is a spatio-temporal island where the 'old mirth of Merry England' meets 'the wilder glee of this fresh forest';[200] where cultivated 'garden flowers' share a place on the May-pole with 'blossoms of the wilderness'; where man and animal exist harmoniously in nature through the re-enactment of an 'ancient fable'[201] in which the Fauns and Nymphs participate in a pagan fertility ritual; where historical linearity is defied by the anachronism of Gothic monsters of Grecian ancestry; where, if time does exist at all it is frozen by the magic circle of the 'morrice dance'.[202]

The dance is a means of avoiding the temporal predicament that renders man's life meaningless. But at the very moment that man is celebrating his powers of renewal, the destructive powers of time are secretly at work. The dance

must move towards its conclusion as surely as the Lord and Lady of the May must lay down their titles at sunset, and begin a new dance, the dance of life. Significantly, Merry Mount's fall is caused not only by the external agency of the Puritans but by inherent seeds of destruction. The sexual energy of the morris dance implies a procreative cycle that cannot be part of a stilled world. The ironic tension between the ideal and the real threatens the security of the joyous concord of the scene. The masqueraders are an 'irregular throng' engaged in 'wild revelry', led by a Bacchic priest who is 'the very Comus of the crew'.[203] Their masques are merely the counterfeit of happiness, presenting the extravagant lust and hedonistic sensuality of the bestial and the primitive. Significantly the animals they choose to emulate are the libidinous stag, goat, wolf and 'bear erect'. As they stoop to meet the 'inferior nature'[204] of the brutes they become creatures of the brutish moment; losing their rational perception of time they sacrifice their humanity. Merry Mount, where 'jest and delusion, trick and fantasy, kept up a continued carnival'[205] is a mere parody of Eden. The ideal myth of a harmonious and abundant Golden Age is but 'the scattered fantasies of a dream'. The atmosphere of prevailing gaiety is tragically precarious, 'a picture of the moment',[206] merely 'the tipsy jollity that foreran the change'.[207]

Within this world of illusion and 'day-dream'[208] Edgar and Edith are set apart from the 'unreal mirth'[209] by the 'real passion' that glowed in their hearts. Love awakens them to the tragedy of their transient mortal condition, but it also humanizes them. They share the ironic perspective of the narrator. Reigning over their golden world they yet perceive the tarnish of inevitable change; 'the dreary presentiment' that 'nothing of futurity will be brighter than the mere remembrance of what is now passing' saddens

them. Love initiates them into a world of 'care and sorrow, and troubled joy', and Eden becomes a nostalgic memory of an ideal but illusory world. The 'mystery in [Edith's] heart'[210] is her knowledge of time and change, of the mystery of life and death, joy and sorrow, past and future as they meet in the present; in short it is the knowledge of the tragic complexity of the human condition.[211]

The May-pole is at the centre of the mythic vision and it partakes of the duality. It is a monument to all that is fecund, exuberant, luxuriant; its vision is imaginative and poetic. It is the Tree of Life but it is also the Tree of Knowledge which discredits the integrity of innocence. Knowledge and the fall are concomitant: eating of the fruit, man discovers sexual love (the phallicism of the may-pole is not coincidental), he discovers time and he discovers the moral categories of good and evil. Most particularly, he falls into a world of change, uncertainty, choice and complexity. This fall from an ideal state is the fallen condition of the American Adam in his re-enactment of an ancient myth in the New World, 'a Paradise Lost in provincial miniature'.[212] Hawthorne expresses the same view in The Marble Faun:

> Adam saw it in a brighter sunshine, but never knew the shade of pensive beauty which Eden won from his expulsion. 213

The first section ends with the Merry Mounters in their delusive world: 'Now leave we the priest to marry them and the masquers to sport round the May-pole'.[214] The change in tense maintains a continuous present of illusory gaiety which is invalidated by the narrator's description of the historical process of cause and effect in the second half of the story. The detached cautionary perspective of the historical summary balances the opposing parties. The Merry Mounters are 'silken colonists',[215]

'sworn triflers of a lifetime', worshippers of light, gaiety and sunshine, dedicated to a hedonistic creed of pleasure and sensuality symbolised by their May-pole. The Puritans are men of iron, 'dismal wretches',[216] creatures of darkness and shadow, dedicated to a life of prayer and toil, worshippers of a punitive religion symbolized by the whipping-post. Ironically the May-pole is metamorphosed into its polar opposite, a contrivance for the punishment of those same sexual excesses celebrated at the May-pole. The Merry Mounters yearn for a prelapsarian world, the Puritans lament the fall; they are two sides of the same coin, the dream of the one becoming the nightmare of the other. The votaries of the May-pole stoop to brutishness in their primitive impulses, the Puritans become brutish in their suppression of impulses. 'Their weapons', we read, 'were always at hand, to shoot down the straggling savage'.[217] The masques of the Merry Mounters are thus a manifestation of 'those devils and ruined souls, with whom their [the Puritans'] superstitions peopled the black wilderness'.[218]

The last section dramatizes the Puritan victory. Contrary to the dream of the 'silken' crew, time does not stand still, the sun sets and in the 'evening gloom' the Puritan attackers are like the 'black shadows'[219] of death. The magic circle is disrupted and the iron rule of Endicott wreaks vengeance on the offenders and their totem. With the fall of the May-pole 'the evening sky grew darker, and the woods threw forth a more sombre shadow'.[220]

The Merry Mounters recreate myth, the Puritans create history, but the former are moulded by history while the latter become transformed into myth. The Endicott of the sketches previously discussed is a 'world

historical individual'[221] performing a type of revolutionary action. In this story Endicott re-enacts the role of the archetypal angel with the flaming sword expelling Adam and Eve from Eden, providing them with 'garments of a more decent fashion'[222] and condemning them to a 'world of toil and care'.[223] Edith and Edgar also share in the fusion of myth and history. The dream of 'systematic gaiety' gives way to the harsh reality of 'moral gloom',[224] as the couple must perforce quit the cyclical ritual dance and embrace 'the difficult path'[225] of life, supported only by their mutual love, which is symbolised in the 'wreath of roses from the ruin of the may-pole'.[226] They accept neither the rigidity of the Puritans nor the hedonism of the Merry Mounters. Theirs is a new tragic vision which embraces the duality and gives due recognition to light and darkness, life and death, time and eternity.

In 'Alice Doane's Appeal' Hawthorne had attempted to find a fictional form whereby he could describe, analyse and thereby understand the fear and guilt, the supersition and suspicion, which generated the neurotic hysteria of the witch trials. Aware that a nation's history is the mirror image of the individual's way of 'projecting and objectifying the concerns, the tensions, and the deep feelings that haunted him from the personal past of his childhood',[227] Hawthorne links the compulsive fantasy of Leonard Doane's 'diseased imagination' which results in an 'unutterable crime, perpetrated...in madness or a dream,'[228] with the morbid distorted social psyche which erupted in the frenzied madness of the Salem witchcraft trials. In selecting the frame structure for his narrative, however, Hawthorne presents Doane's story as a past report. The reader

is distanced from the Gothic tale of crime and guilt, and his imaginative response is engaged rather by the narrator's more immediate struggle with his recalcitrant material. Gothicism cannot successfully enable the past to do all it can and so in 'Young Goodman Brown', another tale about a 'diseased imagination' Hawthorne turns to myth to describe the archetypal fall from youthful innocence into carnal knowledge and guilt, a fall which is simultaneously universal and individual. In the later story he alters the temporal relationship between the fictional reality and the imaginative process of the reader. Although the events take place in the historic past, and although they are narrated in the preterite tense, the scenic and dramatic presentation enables the reader to bridge the gap between his own present and the narrative past, and to experience the events as if they were present and immediate. The 'as if' illusion of narration lends the narrated material 'a validity which extends far beyond the present moment'.[229] This 'as-if' illusion is the interaction between the diachronic and synchronic dimensions of myth.[230]

In 'The May-Pole of Merry Mount' the fall of man is defined as the discovery of his temporal condition, his sexual identity, and his moral ambivalence. The existential agony of this fall is compellingly dramatised in 'Young Goodman Brown' (1835). Nowhere was Hawthorne to write more forcibly of the 'blackness of darkness' of sin-laden humanity. Brown's 'dark odyssey' is a journey into the past, the historical past, the personal past, the primordial past. Thomas Mann observed that 'the ultimate depths of the human soul are also the primordial depth of time'.[231] Brown's journey takes him into the unknown, undiscovered territory of the psyche where he must confront his subterranean irrational urges. He

discovers that the past is 'the hoarder of our faults, the preparer of our shames, the alchemist that compounds the bitter drink of the present moment'.[232] But the night journey is not only psychological, it is also historical. As Fussell suggests:

> 'Young Goodman Brown' is about American advance to the west, penetration into the dark forest of the unmapped future which is also the buried past. 233

The personal experience of the protagonist then, mirrors the American national experience. The 'well of the past'[234] is compressed into the events of a single night. The temporal categories of order and direction are distorted and confused in the 'benighted wilderness'. Temporal scales are conflated as time simultaneously contracts and expands so that Goodman Brown's journey which can be measured in minutes and hours, also extends into larger units of days, months and years. Closely associated with his fall into time is Brown's discovery of his sexual drives. His distorted vision conflates sex with sin; horrified at his own carnal desire he becomes obsessed with the pink ribbons of Faith, symbol of her natural feminine grace, and transforms them into the red flames of demoniac passion. Finally, his fall is a terrifying descent into a world of equivocation and uncertainty where there can be no facile distinction between the moral categories of good and evil.

Young Goodman Brown's journey is a re-enactment of the archetypal quest. The protagonist undertakes an ominous Dantesque night journey, enters into a labyrinthine forest where he must confront the demonic monsters, only to discover that the quest leads him into the menacing darkness of his own soul. Ideally the quest is a regenerative initiation rite, but Brown's quest in the historical world of experience is painful and disillusioning. The structure of the story is cyclical in time and

space, beginning and ending in the objective social world of the village. Brown's psychic and moral journey has been from ignorance through knowledge and desire to death, and his Walpurgisnacht discovery becomes the rhythmic pattern for his entire future life.

The opening section establishes a stable social locale; the known, verifiable, intelligible world of Salem, with its rigid Puritanical moral and social codes. Brown as his name suggests is a typical inhabitant of this daylight world. As a goodman he is complacently secure in his moral and social status; his youthful vision of life is confidently innocent and simple. But already there are forebodings: 'but three months married'[235] Brown has recently discovered carnal passion; Faith is filled with fear and trepidation about her young husband's inevitable night journey; 'a blessed angel'[236] during the conscious hours of day, she is troubled with dreams at night; words such as sadly, appeared, sunset, doubt, harm, melancholy,[237] are early intimations of Brown's fall from innocence and certitude.

Leaving this social sphere with its objective chronological time scheme, reliably measured by the clock of the Old South Church, he enters the intimidating, hostile forest and immediately becomes aware of his isolation and of the menacing environment. In the gloomy darkness of the labyrinthine wilderness which closes in on him, he loses direction: here there are no streets to map out his progress; time and space become dislocated as he penetrates deeper and deeper into the heart of the forest, which becomes the 'heart of the dark wilderness'[238] of his soul. As the darkness intensifies, the outer world disappears and Brown, driven in upon himself feels increasingly bewildered and disorientated. His vision blurs and he imagines 'an unseen multitude'[239] and threatening shapes

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concealed behind every tree. His fear and uncertainty is echoed in the temporal rhythm of his journey. The journey between sunset and sunrise 'forth and back' to Salem is not only cyclical, it is also linear: the slow pace of the outset quickens with Brown's mounting excitement as he 'flies''with the instinct that guides mortal man to evil' towards the final revelation. But this linear direction is punctuated by a 'forth and back'[240] rhythm of advance and retreat, determination to pursue his quest and hesitancy and doubt about the wisdom of the quest:

> My mind is made up. Not another step will I budge on this errand. 241

And later he resolves,

> with Heaven above, and Faith below I will yet stand against the devil. 242

But the potency of the repressed subliminal urges is too strong for Brown and in a climactic moment his demoniac laughter announces his own union with the powers of evil:

> 'Ha! ha! ha!' roared Goodman Brown, when the wind laughed at him. 'Let us hear which will laugh loudest! Think not to frighten me with your deviltry! Come witch, come wizard, come Indian powow, come devil himself! and here comes Goodman Brown. You may as well fear him as he fear you!' 243

Significantly the rhythm of his journey approximates the sexual rhythm of tension and resolution, intensification of desire and orgastic climax.

Goodman Brown's journey into the forest functions as a withdrawal into a solipsistic dream state where the phantasmagoric shapes he sees are the projections of his morbid imagination.[244] As he penetrates the darkening labyrinth of the subconscious Brown loses his grip on reality. He finds himself in a fantasy world of appearance and illusion, where shadowy shapes, strange yet familiar, appear and dissolve. The objects and spectres that people this nightmare world shift in time and space: the devil appears

suddenly and vanishes, his staff becomes a serpent, the maple branch withers; events are momentous and yet 'as if nothing had happened'.[245] His relationship to the objective phenomenal world becomes uncertain, he has problems of vision and hearing and everything is equivocal and blurred. Thus, the transformation of the staff into a living serpent 'must have been an ocular deception, assisted by the uncertain light'.[246] 'A confused and doubtful sound of voices' emanates from a 'black mass of cloud' and Brown imagines that he can recognize in the 'unseen multitude' the voices of his townspeople, 'both saints and sinners'. But

> the next moment, so indistinct were the sounds, he doubted whether he had heard aught but the murmur of the old forest, whispering without a wind. 247

The devil inhabits the dubious limbo between illusion and reality: as a metaphysical manifestation of evil he is real, but he is also conjured up by the 'diseased imagination' of Brown whom he resembles as father to son. Moreover, the devil's 'arguments seemed rather to spring up in the bosom of his auditor, than to be suggested by himself'.[248] The lesson that Goodman Brown learns during his dark night of the soul, is that his cherished innocence was in fact ignorance. His faith in virtue is shattered as he discovers that his father and his grandfather before him have consorted with the devil and perpetrated evil deeds; that the foundations of a society based on 'prayer and good works'[249] are corrupt and evil; that his 'moral and spiritual advisers',[250] Goody Cloyse, the minister and Deacon Gookin belong to the devil's party. Adrift in moral chaos he cries:

> 'My Faith is gone!... There is no good on earth; and sin is but a name. Come devil! for to thee is the world given.' 251

Discovering the fiend in his own breast he embraces evil as the only reality and with 'frenzied gestures','horrid blasphemy'[252] and demonic laughter he joins his voice to the ghastly, frightful crescendo of cacophonous disorder, for 'he was himself the chief horror of the scene, and shrank not from its other horrors'.[253]

The climax of the story is a magnificent evocation of desire, horror and fascination. The initiation into the universal brotherhood of sin and evil cannot be separated from the sexual initiation of Goodman Brown and his Faith. The imagery describing the Black Sabbath presided over by a devil-priest is sexually suggestive: the penetration into the forest, the hollowed clearing, the phallic pines, blazing, 'their tops aflame, their stems untouched',[254] the flames of desire, and the moment of carnal knowledge:

> By the blaze of the hell-kindled torches, the wretched man beheld his Faith, and the wife her husband, trembling before that unhallowed altar. 255

And with this knowledge comes the other terrifying revelation that 'evil is the nature of mankind'.[256] In the lurid red light Brown perceives a procession of 'fiend worshippers' who welcome him into their midst and 'with whom he felt a loathful brotherhood, by the sympathy of all that was wicked in his heart'. He sees his guilt infinitely multiplied in the mirror images presented by the thronging spectres engaged in the secret sins of the flesh. The whole fallen race of mankind passes before his eyes. From the beginning of time to the present and extending into the future, mankind has conspired to transform 'the whole earth [into] one stain of guilt, one mighty bloodspot'. This 'deep mystery of sin'[257] is man's birthright and recognising his mother and father in the procession of spectral shapes Brown is forced to acknowledge the Old Adam in himself.

His is only

> the utmost point of a line, the last link of a chain tht is ever longer and ever stronger, which holds [him] in servitude to the past. 258

Goodman Brown returns from his night journey with his illusions destroyed. Far from establishing a bond of shared knowledge and guilt with his fellow-men Brown's ego-induced fantasy has permanently isolated him from the 'magnetic chain of human sympathy'. His moral code has undergone a total reversal: his former faith in the reality of virtue has been transformed into a gloomy conviction of the reality of evil. The heuristic quest has led to a glimpse of the Manichean nature of the world wherein man stands between the limiting demands of his social structure and the frightening allure of demonic experience. Unable to exist in a state of doubt and uncertainty, blind to the duality in man, he is morbidly preoccupied with the fall and transforms his own feelings of guilt into a misanthropic revulson against all human kind. The story focuses on Brown's forest journey because it is the dominant influence in his life. Although 'he lived long'[259] the time span of his fictional life is compressed into a brief summary, for a life devoid of present creativity and future hope moves rapidly towards death.

In 'The Minister's Black Veil' (1836) Hawthorne focuses on the life of Mr Hooper <u>following</u> the discovery of

> secret sin, and those sad mysteries which we hide from our nearest and dearest, and would fain conceal from our own consciousness, even forgetting that the Omniscient can detect them. 260

Like Brown the Minister inherits the devil's curse:

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Like Brown the Minister inherits the devil's curse:

> It shall be yours to penetrate, in every bosom, the deep mystery of sin, the fountain of all wicked arts, and which inexhaustibly supplies more evil impulses than human power - than my power at its utmost! - can make manifest in deeds. 261

In this story Hawthorne is concerned not with the revelation of universal guilt, but with its effects. Brown's epitaph is the burden of Hooper's story.

The cause of the minister's gloomy obsession remains mysterious to the end. Members of his congregation guess in vain at the cause and meaning of the black veil, but to the reader it matters not what motivated the minister to don the funereal veil. The very mystery surrounding it adds to the ubiquity of the 'blackness of darkness' that the veil simultaneously expresses about himself and others. It is 'a type and symbol'[262] of man's primordial fall from innocence into a world of sinful mortality, where even the earth wears a Black Veil of mourning. It has been suggested that Minister Hooper is on the threshold of marriage and that the wearing of the veil is his attempt to postpone the fall into sexual knowledge and to modify the conditions of emotional and moral responsibility by temporizing.[263] Avoiding the fall he initiates the fall. In 'The May-Pole of Merry Mount' Edgar and Edith fall from Eden into humanity through love, responsibility and maturity; Minister Hooper falls into inhumanity and isolation by his rejection of love and his refusal to accept responsibility.

As an outward and visible symbol of the 'ambiguity of sin and sorrow'[264] the veil invites a multiplicity of interpretations. On the one hand it is Minister Hooper's public acknowledgement of the human condition that he shares with his fellowmen, fo

> man must not disclaim his brotherhood, even with the guiltiest, since, though his hand be clean, his heart has surely been polluted by the flitting phantoms of inequity. 265

At the same time, however, the veil conceals the minister's face and shrouds him in mystery. The piece of black crepe is a double veil that protects him firstly from his own gaze and secondly from the gaze of others. By keeping 'the inmost Me behind its veil'[266] he denies himself both selfhood and sympathetic communion. Moreover the black veil obfuscates and distorts his vision casting a dark sombre shadow over the world, thereby exaggerating its sinfulness. He fails to distinguish between a marriage and a funeral, throwing the same morbid gloom over the young couple at the threshold of life and creativity as over the departed soul. The veil may also be seen as a symbol of mortality and indeed death seems to be Minister Hooper's proper sphere. Feared by children, avoided by his congregants, he dedicates himself to the dead and dying. His customary walk in the burial grounds results in the fabled report that 'the eyes of dead people drove him thence'.[267] While the living shun him in 'their health and joy' the dying summon him 'to their aid in mortal anguish'.[268] Mr Hooper's obsession with the two polarities of Original Sin and death exclude him from the creative possibilities of time and life. His gloomy survey of life projects backward into cosmogony and forward into eschatology and he denies the regenerative myth of cyclical return. Because he believes that the past governs the present and future unconditionally he cannot free himself from his time-bound existence in 'that saddest of all prisons, his own heart'.[269] Removed from life he becomes a sad spectator of the procession of life towards the grave.

The veil has separated him from 'cheerful brotherhood and woman's love' which might have afforded him a glimpse of 'the sunshine of eternity'.[270] Thus the veil, a symbol of the fellowship of sin has been transformed into a symbol of isolation and loneliness. His dying words reinforce his vision of a fallen world: on the faces of the 'pale spectators' encircling him he sees the reflection of sin, mortality and the agony of moral estrangement; he sees 'on every visage a Black Veil'. His final words function both as a curse and a declaration of brotherhood as he goes to the grave 'a veiled corpse'.[271] The present tense of the concluding sentence serves to undercut Father Hooper's achievement: the Black Veil is no more than a death mask which prevails as a symbol of man's self-imprisonment in the human condition of guilt, mortality and loneliness. The awful veil that 'shuts in time from eternity'[272] cannot be removed because it is not only the outward sign and penalty of guilt, it is also its origin. As Newton Arvin has observed:

> The essence of wrong is aloneness; you begin and you end with that. To err is to cut oneself off from 'the whole sympathetic chain of human nature'; to suffer is to be merely on one's own. 273

In this sense original sin is moral and emotional estrangement, and of that Minister Hooper is surely guilty. Paradoxically, the veil which reveals also conceals, the symbol of sympathetic brotherhood is a symbol of the common experience of isolation. But although the ambiguous symbol offers a 'formula of alternative possibilities'[274] the minister fails to read its meaning correctly. His darkened vision prohibits him from recognizing the dualism of human nature, the complexity and ambiguity, of which the veil is an emblem. Finally, Mr Hooper fails to 'open an intercourse with the world' because he chooses the wrong symbol. The black veil is a symbol of concealment and invisibility: that which is

not seen, and not said, remains a mystery, an awful hint of man's dark origins and ends. Its view is turned inwards to the self and backwards to the past. In contrast Hester's scarlet A is a symbol of language, a social construct, a source and means of revelation and communication. Its scarlet hue fully embraces the destructive and creative potential of man's complex and equivocal being. The inherent tension between the inner world of self and the outer world of society, between the past and the future, is reconciled in the scarlet letter which is a symbol for the redemption of time precluded by the Minister's black veil. As a clergyman, Mr Hooper believes that the patterns that control the cycles of human life are located in the heavens. His tragedy is that the veil is not an emblem of an omniscient order, but a type of collective unconscious of man, which by de-individualizing him effectively dehumanizes him.

Askew notes:

> The fall of man, then, freed from theology, becomes a figure of speech, a trope, a myth in Hawthorne's fiction for a universal human circumstance: the profound psychological complex of experience and knowledge that leads to maturity of mind and heart. 275

The depths of the human psyche are an invisible world where the subterranean urges are buried and imprisoned in tombs and dungeons. In 'The Haunted Mind' (1835) Hawthorne describes the 'nightmare of the soul'[276] when the 'buried ones',[277] the repressed fiends and 'devils of a guilty heart'[278] rise from their 'dark receptacles'[279] and demand recognition. In this nightmare world temporal and spatial categories are dislocated and fused: 'on the borders between sleep and wakefulness'[280] between consciousness and unconsciousness there is an 'intermediate space', a still moment when time seems to pause, not frozen, but rather floating in a magical timeless present between 'yesterday [which] has already vanished among the shadows of the past, [and] tomorrow [which] has not yet emerged from the future'.[281] The images of deep-seated human concerns, fears, and

aspirations that arise out of 'the haunted mind' waver in the flickering light and shade between clarity and dimness. Disconnected, fragmented, temporally and spatially disordered, these images nevertheless have a psychological potency; they reveal an imaginative and emotional reality and the irrational logic of the subliminal mind.

In 'The Hollow of the Three Hills' (1830) Hawthorne's subject-matter is

> this nightmare of the soul, this heavy, heavy sinking of spirits; this wintry gloom about the heart: this indistinct horror of the mind. 282

The hollow functions as both time and space. It is 'the intermediate space' between the fairy-tale legendary past and the immediate fictive present of 'an appointed hour and place'. It is a neutral ground where 'fantastic dreams and madmen's reveries were realized among the actual circumstance of life';[283] and where a Gothic tale can be transmuted into a psychological romance. It is also the psychic territory of the haunted mind and the guilty heart.

The tale is set in a decaying landscape: the dwarf pines, the brown grass, the mouldering trunk and decaying wood are all reminders of the vicissitudes of time. The 'chill beauty of an autumnal sunset' evokes the melancholy of the dying year and the dying day. The reference to 'the impious baptismal rites' of witchcraft,formerly practised in the hollow basin,is implicitly associated with the aged crone, a latter day practitioner of a still flourishing evil.[284]

The landscape is rhythmical, symmetrical and circular. The circular hollow is repeated in the 'mathematically circular' structure of the basin which is then reproduced in the cyclical structure of the tale. The triplicate rhythm of the three hills is echoed in the three human

bonds severed by the young woman, recreated in the three visions, punctuated in each case by the mournful refrain of the wind. This pattern of variation within similitude is the structure of myth. Variety is provided by the details which are symmetrically balanced: night and day, light and dark, past and present, illusion and reality. Youth and age are juxtaposed in the two women, but it is not a simple contrast, for the young woman is 'smitten with an untimely blight'[285] while the withered crone is beyond the normal term of human existence, an immortal creature who cannot be touched by the onslaught of time because she is timeless, eternally ancient.

The curse upon the young woman is a deep-seated guilt from which she can gain no relief. Having renounced those intimate emotional and moral ties when she quitted her native country, she discovers that there can be no escape from past responsibilities which live on in her memory, haunting her present existence and allowing no respite from the gnawing guilts for the suffering she has wilfully caused. Fearing the old witch and the uncovering of her past, she nevertheless is compelled to hear and see the worst that the 'buried ones' must show. Even at the very moment of revelation she longs to escape from knowledge of the truth:

> Let me flee - let me flee and hide myself, that they may not look upon me. 286

The visions that the crone conjures are not memories from the past but present scenes, the pathos of which recalls and reinforces the past tragedy which has caused present suffering. Time is encapsulated in these visions where past, present and future seem to be interrelated, the one as a necessary outcome of the other. In the tableaux time is presented as a single frozen moment which paradoxically encompasses all time. Humiliated and afraid in the first vision,the young woman nevertheless remains detached and responds passively as the voices 'became dinstinctly

audible to her'.[287] Her response in the second tableau becomes more active and intense with the increase of responsibility:

> She could distinguish... she shuddered... she grew faint.

The second vision portrays a complexity of human emotions. She hears shrieks and singing, laughter, groans and sobs, a 'ghastly confusion of terror and mourning and mirth', 'love songs...funeral hymns'.[288] Just as these 'unbound passions' are inextricably linked so is the present tied to the past; 'the solemn voice of a man' might once have been 'a manly and melodious voice'. The simultaneously past and present voice of the vision merges with the fictive present and finds its echo in 'the hollow, fitful, and uneven sound of the wind'.[289] Similarly the sorrow of the deserted husband is matched by the misery of the guilty wife.

The sombre night landscape finds its analogue in the psychic state of the young woman. Abandoning the heart and the home she has become an outcast of society, forced to wander in a benighted wilderness and to consort with evil powers antithetical to love and domesticity. The final and darkest vision is a picture of the untimely death of the woman's child. The clang of the funeral bell, marking the child's passage out of time into eternity, is analogous to the nightfall that marks the end of a single day, but by virtue of its cyclical motion has its place in the eternal flow of time. There is no such redemptive vision for the miserable woman. As the sorrowing emotions of her unhappy parents and her betrayed husband are imaginatively and psychologically transferred to the despairing woman, so, by virtue of her increasing recognition of the suffering she has caused, the untimely death of the unloved child becomes the death, symbolic or literal, of the sinful mother. In the 'sweet hour's sport'[290] of an evening 'the past had done all it could'.

Frederick Crews has argued that

> Hawthorne's interest in history is only a special case of his interest in fathers and sons, guilt and retribution... The history of the nation interests him only as it is metaphorical of individual mental strife. [291]

Crews has perceptively observed that Hawthorne's attitude toward the past is the result of 'primordial concerns',[292] but he is wrong in submerging history in psychology. The fusion of history and psychology produces myth which is the recurrence in history of archetypal patterns of 'individual mental strife'.

'Roger Malvin's Burial' (1832) exemplifies Hawthorne's sense of the past as 'the sense of symbolic family conflict writ large'.[293] Reuben Bourne, the protagonist, is beset by guilt which pursues him relentlessly like the archetypal Furies, threatening the psychic and social foundations of his existence. His fixation on the past cripples him morally and emotionally so that he is unable to function creatively in the present. He becomes an isolato fleeing from, yet imprisoned in the past.

The historical introduction is not as remote from the action of the tale as Agnes Donohue has suggested.[294] It provides an objective time structure based on recorded historical events which are available for social communication and action. The story proper however, deals with the experience of time as 'subjective relativity' based on the psychological categories of memory and expectation. Because these categories are unreliable, subject to error and deception as a result of distortion, repression or projection, subjective time inhibits action and communication. Reuben Bourne, a wounded soldier of history, is unable to find the delicate balance between subjective and objective time and he fails to discharge his social and personal roles. He is 'a neglectful husbandman' whose land and and sexuality becomes blighted

as a result of his guilty memory. His irritable moodiness and misanthropic communication with his neighbours takes the form of 'innumerable lawsuits'.[295] Hawthorne tells us that 'none pay a greater regard to arbitrary divisions of time, than those who are excluded from society'.[296] Reuben's attention fixes obsessively on the 12th May 1725, the day of the onset of his 'original sin' for which he atones on the same day eighteen years later. The temporal structure of the story focuses on this unconscious compulsion: whereas the eighteen intermediate years are compressed into a detached synoptic exposition, two-thirds of the narrative time is occupied by the two most important days in Reuben's life - the day of the vow and the day of the fulfilment of that vow. The narrative time, the fictional time and the reading time are almost synchronous, drawing the reader into the subjective drama of compulsion to be enacted.

Hawthorne here seems to be exploring the philosophical dilemma as to which presents the more accurate experience of time, the historical or the psychological, objective or subjective, rational or irrational modes of perception. In transforming the history of Indian warfare into a psychological romance, what most concerns him is the 'truth of the human heart'. Romance is a way of perceiving beneath the outward objective surfaces; of penetrating 'into the shade' which has 'judiciously'[297] suppressed certain circumstances of history; and of revealing a deeper and darker reality, a different order of truth and experience, what Hawthorne calls 'a high truth'.

The historical background to the tale is the frontier warfare with the Indians. The 'heroism of a little band' of frontiersmen in 'the heart of the enemy's country' is ironically described: the 'civilised ideas of valour and chivalry' conceal the real savagery of men whose deeds that

'broke the strength of a tribe' must be 'judiciously cast into the shade'.[298] In the North American Review of 1853, Parkman observed:

> Civilisation has a destroying as well as a creating power. It is exterminating the buffalo and the Indian.... It must...eventually sweep from before it a class of men, its own precursors and pioneers, so remarkable both in their virtues and faults, that few will see their extinction without regret. 299

The burden of the story is that psychic and national health depend on an acknowledgement rather than a suppression of our inherent savage instincts. In doing battle with the Indian, symbolically and literally the barbarian in the benighted wilderness, the American hero wars with the savage in his own heart of darkness. Reuben is twice compared with the Indians: his failure to provide 'the rites of sepulture' for Roger Malvin links him with the Indians 'whose war was with the dead as well as the living';[300] his neglect of his farm has the same blighting effect as the destruction 'either in the field or in the barn, by the savage enemy'.[301]

The history of the frontier is the myth of America, and it is as much a condition of the soul as a topographical region. As Fussell expresses it:

> Somewhere out West, as analogously on the frontier within his own soul, a struggle was being enacted between the failing forms of the paternal civilisations and the threat of formlessness'. 302

The mapping out of the future is the American dream of progress achieved by sloughing off the past, represented here by Roger Malvin, the symbolic father figure. Hawthorne describes an ideal version of the myth only to disprove its validity by ironically demonstrating the reality. Reuben learns that the pioneering freedom and adventurous energy of youth, the calm domesticity of manhood, and the patriarchal dreams of founding 'a mighty nation'[303] are illusions. As an American Adam Reuben wants to 'throw sunlight into some deep recess of the forest, and seek subsistence from the

virgin bosom of the wilderness'.[304] But the forest is not 'a world of summer wilderness'; it is the 'tangled and gloomy'[305] locus of his original sin which is to burden his future guilt-ridden life, and the locus to which he must necessarily return to expiate that guilt. Reuben's maturity takes the form of a compulsive journey of discovery, a return in time to the forest of subconscious motives and irrational desires. He learns that the future is not gained at the expense of the past, but because of the past; that psychic health depends not on the repression of guilty secrets but on the acknowledgement of guilt.

The mythical reverberations in the tale have received extensive critical attention. Waggoner writes:

> These closing words of the story, like the Biblical allusions throughout, make it clear that a reading of the tale in terms of both primitive religious myth and the historical and theological aspects of creedal Christianity are as clearly justified as the psychological reading is. Oedipus and the sacrificial saviour loom in the background of this tale whose foreground is fashioned out of Colonial history and the nature and effects of concealed guilt. Original Sin and the Atonement are as clearly involved in Reuben Bourne's story as are the psychology of guilt and the demands of the subconscious. 306

To this use of myth have been added Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac[307] and the story of Reuben and Joseph.[308] What is significant about this matrix of myth is the incidence of recurrence which establishes the holism of the story of man. The function of myth, says Levi-Strauss, is 'to apprehend in a total fashion the two aspects of reality... continuous and discontinuous',[309] diachronic and synchronic. The presence of Cyrus in the tale affirms the pattern of recurrence. Cyrus is an incipient Adam created in the image of his father:

> In Cyrus he recognized what he had himself been in other days.

Beautiful in youth, and giving promise of a glorious manhood', Cyrus was

peculiarly qualified for the wild accomplishments of frientier life'; he was spoken of as 'a future leader in the land'.[310] The tripartite family structure of Roger Malvin, Reuben and Dorcas is repeated in the younger trinity. Like his father Cyrus is an accomplished hunter and his rebellion against paternal authority is suggested by his criticism of his father's route, born out his own familiarity with the forest. Cyrus is the ideal, prelapsarian Adam, the 'wanderer in a world of summer wilderness'.[311] Reuben is the fallen Adam bearing his grievous burden of sin and guilt. The fate of Cyrus implies that the ideal Adam cannot survive in the American wilderness and must therefore die.

The dominant images which delimit the spatio-temporal and psychological field of action are the forest, the rock and the sapling oak. Donohue notes the similarity to Hamlet: the forest is 'the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns'.[312] Reuben believes that the forest represents death, the clearing, life. Ironically, however his choice of life leads him back to death, to the forest:

> In Hawthorne's ironic paradox the choice for life fails because Reuben is guilty of 'moral cowardice' - 'thus conscience doth make cowards of us all' and Reuben Bourne is his own bourn'. 313

The rock is like 'a gigantic gravestone'[314] and functions later as a sacrificial altar. Stable, fixed, and immutable it is perpetually engraved on Reuben's memory:

> In the shape and smoothness of one of its surfaces, [the rock] was not unlike a gigantic gravestone. As if reflected in a mirror, its likeness was in Reuben's memory. 315

Ironically, Roger Malvin does receive burial 'in the deep sepulchre of [Reuben's] heart'.[316] The verbal echoes reinforce the unconscious compulsion to repeat the past. The 'young and vigorous sapling'[317] is

an analogue for Reuben himself. Reinforcing the analogue is the blood-stained handkerchief which he ties to the tree. Soaked by Reuben's wounds, it is a vow signed with his own blood, to return to bury Malvin. Unlike the rock, the tree changes with time; like Reuben it withers and becomes blighted. Birdsall observes :

> The tree, as the one symptom of change which Reuben recognizes in the wilderness, thus take on the added symbolism of time amidst timelessness.

The structure of the story is circular, beginning and ending in the forest. As T.S. Eliot has put it:'In my beginning is my end'.[319] Reuben Bourne's secret guilt is the result of a moral dilemma born out of his complex relationship with Roger Malvin, his surrogate father. On the one hand he feels filial affection for, and duty towards Malvin, on the other he yearns to establish his independence of the restrictions and authority of the past and to affirm his own identity. Reuben's original sin is his desertion of Malvin. Unable to resist the temptation of a vision of life and future happiness shared with Dorcas he rationalizes his self-interested motives, convincing himself of the futility of adding his death to Malvin's, and vowing to return either to save or bury him. His guilt manifests itself immediately:

> He felt as if it were both sin and folly to think of happiness at such a moment. 320

The moment of desertion is a foreshadowing of his future life and of the compulsive return journey to the forest:

> A sort of guilty feeling, which sometimes torments men in their most justifiable acts, caused him to seek concealment from Malvin's eyes. But, after he had trodden far upon the rustling forest leaves, he crept back, impelled by a wild and painful curiosity, and, sheltered by the earthy roots of an uptorn tree, gazed earnestly at the desolate man. 321

Reuben's original sin is compounded by his failure to disclose the truth about the desertion which in turn results in his failure to fulfil the vow to bury Malvin. He becomes trapped in a web of his own weaving: 'pride, the fear of losing [Dorcas'] affection, the dread of universal scorn'[322] prevents him from revealing the truth. The concealment of the gnawing serpent-like guilt is exacerbated by 'the humiliating torture of unmerited praise'.[323] He is unable to fulfil the American dream of health, wealth and happiness; his prosperity declines and he becomes a ruined man, morally and emotionally as well as agronomically. His memory torments him and 'by a certain association of ideas, he at times almost imagined himself a murderer',[324] and worse, a parricide.

Reuben Bourne's return journey into the wilderness is a return in time to the scene of guilt. Compulsively striking deeper and deeper into the savage heart of the wilderness, he approaches the depth of his repressed subconscious motives. Unsatisfied with the magic circle of 'homely comfort'[325] and 'domestic love'[326] created by Dorcas, he is drawn like a sleep-walker by 'a dark necessity' of inner compulsion to the scene where the 'unburied corpse was calling to him, out of the wilderness'.[327] In consonance with the circular structure of the story, 'his steps were imperceptibly led almost in a circle'[328] until he arrives at the rock, which, together with the tree and the boy, Cyrus, marks the completion of a cycle in Reuben's life. The rock is the altar for the ritual sacrifice necessary for the expiation of guilt. Reuben's sacrifice of his son is a type of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac.[329] His rejection of parental authority is a re-enactment of the original sin of Adam's disobedience of God and only a ritual sacrifice will suffice for the redemption of fallen man. The sacrifice of Cyrus-Isaac is a type of

crucifixion necessary to redeem Reuben-Abraham. In killing Cyrus he is also destroying the filial rebellion in himself that caused him to betray paternal-divine authority. Although Reuben experiences a sense of release from the curse, (he is able to weep and to pray), the ending is ironic. The American dream of an innocent Adamic hero inhabiting a paradisical garden is lost forever. The American hero is a fallen Adam, banished from Eden, living in a savage wilderness, unable to recover the dream of incorruptibility. Fossum comments on the ambiguity of the ending:

> Yet, though the past has been redeemed and the present purged of memory's burden, though temporal continuity and identity have been restored to Reuben through the sacrificial death of the pharmakos, what of the future represented by the dead Cyrus? In redeeming the past, has Reuben destroyed the future?... Is sacrificial death the only means of removing sin and guilt from time-drenched humanity? 330

Hawthorne anticipates Erikson in his perception that man achieves psychological maturity in proportion to his response and adjustment to historical change. Erikson says:

> The individual's mastery over his neurosis begins where he is put in a position to accept the historical necessity which made him what he is. The individual feels free when he can choose to identify with his own ego identity and when he learns to apply that which is given to him to that which must be done. Only thus can he derive ego strength (for his generation and the next) from the coincidence of his one and only life cycle with a particular segment of history. 331

Robin's quest in 'My Kinsman, Major Molineux' (1832) is his search for self-discovery. It defines his struggle to emancipate himself morally, emotionally and psychologically from the shackles of parental authority. It is also a re-enactment of the archetypal pattern from adolescence to maturity, from innocence to experience, from the protective precinct of the paternal home to the threatening labyrinthine complexity

of society, from country to city. The personal quest has its parallel in the national struggle for political independence from tyrannical colonial rule. Q.D. Leavis suggests that the tale should be sub-titled 'America Comes of Age'.[332] She sees Robin as the representative of young America engaged in a quest for self-realization and freedom. Leavis is correct in drawing attention to a social interpretation of the tale but her parabolical sub-title quite misses its rich texture and multiple possibilities. Hawthorne's own title is far more effective. If 'My Kinsman, Major Molineux' is a political allegory, and I think that on one level it is, the social experience is never simplistic or generalised - we come away from the story with an overwhelming sense of the indivisible complexity of human experience. Similarly Robin, the youthful individual, the archetypal quester and the prototypal American discovers that 'freedom is not mere freedom, but rather freedom earned at the expense of guilt'.[333] Freedom is acquired not through escape but through complicity in the historical process. Initially Robin is oblivious of the historical role he must perform in order to win independence. Gradually, in the course of his dream-like ritualistic night wanderings, after symbolic encounters with the incarnations of the maturing ego, he is drawn into the archetypal historical situation. At first a spectator, Robin soon discovers that 'he was himself to bear a part in the pageantry'.[334] Through this participation he learns that 'only through the discovery of historical responsibility...could man gain whatever human freedom he might aspire to'.[335]

Henderson describes Robin as 'one of Hawthorne's armed historical witnesses, capable of apprehending history as more than a meaningless spectacle'. Like Horatio in Hamlet he is a 'witness and commentator

and [is] meant to represent in essence the reaction of the audience to the tragedy'.[336] Thus, by transmitting the events through the perception and consciousness of Robin, Hawthorne is deliberately controlling and directing the reader's response to the story. Pearce aptly describes the burden of the tale as 'the imputation of guilt and righteousness through history'.[337] It is Hawthorne's burden, Robin's burden and by imaginative extension the reader's burden. Author, actor and reader are fused in an imaginative and temporal continuum as they discover 'an element of tragedy inherent in social progress',[338]

The story is prefaced by a brief historical account of the political ethos of pre-revolutionary New England. The mood of insurrection is referred to perfunctorily as 'much temporary inflammation of the popular mind'. The entire paragraph is characterised by abstraction and vagueness: the historical authority of 'the annals of Massachusetts Bay' is undercut by the lack of detailed factuality, the anonymity of the displaced governors and the interpretive 'opinion'[339] of historian Hutchinson. The vagueness is clearly deliberate. Hawthorne is commenting on the inefficacy of text-book history, which relegates past events to mouldy and faded documentation, to enlighten future generations about the implications of the cause and effect of historical events. Present and future generations of Hawthorne's readers, enjoying the fruits of Independence cannot casually dismiss the degradation, the violence and disorder of revolution as 'much temporary inflammation of the popular mind'.[340] The nineteenth-century historian Prescott observes the distinction between history and fiction:

> History represents events as they are, and men as they appear, while fiction represents events as they appear and men as they are. 341

'All philosophy, that would abstract mankind from the present', says Hawthorne, 'is no more than words'.[342] If history is to be understood, it must be dramatically and existentially experienced, and every man who

reaps the benefits of 'temporary inflammation' must accept the responsibility for the guilt incurred during the process of change. In 'Old News' (1835) Hawthorne observes:

> A revolution, or anything, that interrupts social order, may afford opportunities for the individual display of eminent virtue; but, its effects are pernicious to general morality. 343

Using the theatrical metaphor Hawthorne writes elsewhere:

> The tragedy is enacted with as continual a repetition as that of a popular drama on a holiday; and nevertheless, is felt as deeply, perhaps, as when an hereditary noble sinks below his order. 344

Robin, and with him the reader, re-enacts once more the 'popular drama'. If Major Molineux is the kinsman that Robin must acknowledge in the very moment of rejection, Robin is the reader's kinsman whose revolutionary participation must be acknowledged as destructive before it is dismissed as necessary.

The transition from history to fiction is achieved through a change in perspective and language. Instead of the objective detachment of 'the popular mind' we have the subjective experience of 'a single passenger' through whose perception the events are filtered. The historian's 'opinion' is replaced by 'a very accurate survey of the stranger's figure'. The blurred distanced perspective of the historical past gains immediacy from the specificity of temporal details: 'It was nine o'clock of a moonlight evening'.[345] Paradoxically, the moonlight heightens the intensity of the existential immersion in historical process. History as experienced by individuals in time, has none of the ordered, categorised causality that is afforded by the scientific recording of facts and figures in the annals of a nation. Instead it

reveals a realm of unpredictable contingencies, of ambiguity and uncertainty, of confusion, of temporal and spatial disorientation. In this world of pervasive duality the historical experience begins to take the shape of a mythic adventure into an eerie underworld of the mind.

Robin arrives in Boston, confidently armed with his cudgel and his shrewdness, and filled with hopeful expectation of the patronage of his Kinsman. Just as his proper relationship with the Major is redefined during the course of his 'evening of ambiguity',[346] so is he forced to recognize that his cudgel and his shrewdness are hindrances to self-knowledge. The cudgel, a symbol of primitive assertiveness, is of no help in the complex web of social structure; his shrewdness is native instinct, valuable in the wilderness, but ineffectual and often self-delusive in the city; and his kinsman, source of material comfort, stability and future prosperity, a surrogate father-protector, is a symbol of the past, of paternal and political authority, of oppression and tyranny that must be deposed before independence can be won.

Images of complacency and confidence are interlaced with a pervasive image pattern of uncertainty, doubt and humiliation. Robin is bewildered by the 'strangeness' of the experience: he encounters 'a strange hostility in every countenance',[347] 'the streets lay before him, strange and desolate';[348] his search for his 'inscrutable relation'[349] is 'strangely thwarted',[350] and when he finally does receive a gesture of kindness it is 'strange to Robin's ears'.[351] His complacency is undermined by humiliating laughter: after his first encounter he is 'pursued by an ill-mannered roar of laughter from the barber's shop';[352] leaving the inn 'he heard a general laugh';[353] after his encounter with the lady of the scarlet petticoat he hears 'the sound of drowsy laughter stealing down

the street';[354] finally Robin participates in the contagion and 'send[s] forth a shout of laughter that echoed through the street'.[355] During his 'evening of ambiguity and weariness'[356] Robin's perception has undergone a complete transformation. What had seemed real, his cudgel, his shrewdness, his kinsman,is now strange, unreliable and illusive; what had seemed strange, the laughter, the ambiguity, the man of the 'variegated countenance',[357] symbol of human duality, is now real. Bewildered, Robin cries, 'Am I here or there?'[358] and 'Is there really such a person [as Major Molineux] in these parts or am I dreaming?'[359] He learns that 'the Gospel truth'[360] is an illusion and that 'a man may have several voices...as well as two complexions'.[361]

The metamorphosis is achieved through the agency of moonlight. Although the narrator appears to be outside the action, an observer rather than an actor, so that we have the impression that the events are filtered through Robin's consciousness, he nevertheless seems to be identified with the Man in the Moon whose control of moonlight is analogous to the artist's structuring imagination. Thus,

> the moon 'creating, like the imaginative power, a beautiful strangeness in familiar objects' gave something of romance to the scene that might not have possessed it by the light of day. 362

Critics have suggested a Coleridgean reference here but it is as much an allusion to Hawthorne's own account of the creative power of moonlight in 'The Custom House'.[363] The use of a quotation makes a claim for the ordering powers of the artistic imagination to metamorphose a complacent deluded view of history into a fully responsible awareness of one's historical role.

'In dreams begins responsibility' wrote Yeats. Robin's journey of self-discovery takes the form of a phantasmagoric dream-like experience.

'Strange things we travellers see!'[364] says Robin of his adventures. Ferried by a symbolic Charon he enters a dark and sinister labyrinth:

> He now became entangled in a succession of crooked and narrow streets, which crossed each other and meandered at no great distance from the waterside. 365

Figures, strange yet familiar, 'glided past him and dazzled his optics'. Individuals in 'outlandish attire' speak to him in an unrecognized language.[366] The distortion of spatio-temporal categories evokes a surreal world of unstable fluid relationships where objects are in a continual state of metamorphosis. Figures materialize and vanish and then re-appear.

> He aroused himself and endeavourd to fix his attention steadily upon the large edifice which he had surveyed before. But still his mind kept vibrating between fancy and reality; by turns the pillars of the balcony lengthened into the tall bare stems of pines, dwindled down to human figures, settled again in their true shape and size, and then commenced a new succession of changes. 367

Past and present merge in the dream-within-a-dream. Robin, himself about to undergo metamorphosis wavers between memory and perception, the past and the present. Awaiting his kinsman he conjures up a domestic scene of warmth, sunshine and fatherly protection. But the voice of paternal authority 'which [is] now among his dear remembrances' is that same voice 'to which he had so often listened in weariness' and from which he desired independence. The price of freedom, however, is the exclusion from his home, and Robin arouses from his reverie to find himself lonely and bewildered in 'the long wide solitary street'.[368]

Objective time is transformed into dream-time as the duration of Robin's adventures expands and contracts according to his psychological and moral responses. The journey begins 'near nine o'clock', but after what seems an extended period of wandering, and two significant encounters, 'the ringing

of a bell announced the hour of nine'.[369] Similarly the journey of self-discovery is compressed into the adventures of a single night.

Robin's major confrontations mark the stages in his quest for self-knowledge. The old man 'of a peculiarly solemn and sepulchral intonation' represents Father Time whose successive 'sepulchral hems' and regular tapping of his cane suggest the ticking of a clock. Moreover he reminds Robin of the 'thought of a cold grave', of his mortality and the inexorable passage towards death. Robin's response to this encounter is that he will be 'wiser in time'.[370] The woman in the scarlet petticoat represents Robin's first encounter with sexual desire; almost lured by the seductive wiles of the woman, and by his own 'half-willing steps'[371] to the threshold of carnal knowledge he is forced to recognize his kinship with Major Molineux who 'dwells here'.[372] However he escapes temporarily: 'being a good youth, as well as a shrewd one... he resisted temptation, and fled away'.[373] It is the man with the 'parti-coloured features'[374] who most disturbs Robin's equilibrium. He is compelled to see the implications of the Janus-like visage, symbol of the manichean dualism of good and evil in man and the cosmos. As the leader of the insurrection,

> his fierce and variegated countenance appeared like war personified; the red of one cheek was an emblem of fire and the sword; the blackness of the other betokened the mourning which attends them. 375

With his eyes on Robin 'the double-faced fellow'[376] insists on the latter's participation in the simultaneously exhilarating and degrading effects of war: victory and defeat, celebration and mourning are the two sides of the same 'variegated countenance'.

In the recognition scene Hawthorne achieves his most perfect amalgam of myth, history and fiction. Orchestrated by the discordant sounds of

of insurrection, 'the shouts, the laughter, the tuneless bray, the antipodes of music', dramatically lit by the lurid glare of 'a dense multitude of torches', the final scene of the drama is played out.[377] The tension between fantasy and reality is maintained to the end:

> The unsteady brightness of the torches formed a veil which he could not penetrate.

Robin's eyes and ears deceive him: 'confused traces of a human form appeared at intervals, and then melted into the vivid light'; and he hears 'a universal hum, nearly allied to silence'. But he can no longer evade the confrontation with his kinsman:

> Right before Robin's eyes was an uncovered cart. There the torches blazed the brightest, there the moon shone out like day, and there, in tar-and-feathery dignity sate his kinsman, Major Molineux! 378 (Italics mine).

The mutual humiliation is terrible and painful. The victory of the young over the old, the present over the past, democracy over monarchy, cannot be achieved without the shameful degradation of victor and victim alike:

> On they went like fiends that throng in mockery round some dead potentate, mighty no more, but majestic still in his agony. On they went, in counterfeited pomp, in senseless uproar, in frenzied merriment, trampling all on an old man's heart. 379

The deposition of the old ruler is an archetypal ritual of mortification and purgation, necessary for the continuity of the fertility cycle; it is the eternal battle of Summer and Winter, of the Young and the Old King. But Hawthorne has added a new dimension to the myth. The skepticism of the modern mind rejects ready-made solutions and neatly-formulated answers. The dethroning of Major Molineux is couched in equivocation and uncertainty. It is a 'senseless uproar' evoking 'mirth or terror'.[380] Robin's response is equally equivocal, a dubious mixture of mortification

and jubilation. At first 'Robin's knees shook, and his hair bristled, with a mixture of pity and terror'.[381] However the stock response to tragedy is soon replaced by another reaction as the contagion of ubiquitous laughter

> seized upon Robin, and he sent forth a shout of laughter that echoed through the street; every man shook his sides, every man emptied his lungs, but Robin's shout was the loudest there. 382

This is not the celebration of comedy but the absurd tone of Black Humour. Progress means that some people win independence while others receive 'foul disgrace'.[383] The insurrection he has witnessed underlines for Robin the overwhelming contrast between human ideals and human actions. The rightful and noble cause of a new dispensation based on independence, freedom and democracy is undercut by the irrational, discordant actions of the rebellious mob. And it is a freedom gained through the subversion of human values:

> [Major Molineux] was an elderly man, of large and majestic person, and strong, square features, betokening a steady soul; but steady as it was, his enemies had found the means to shake it. 384 (Italics mine)

Major Molineux and his like are to be replaced by new rulers:

> George Washington, the upright rebel, whom we most hate, though reverentially, as a fallen angel, with its heavenly brightness undiminished, evincing pure fame in an unhallowed cause. 385

The syntactical see-saw rhythm elucidates the doubleness of judgement that threatens the future of democracy. Hawthorne observes in 'Old News' that the state of the country...was of dismal augury, for the tendencies of democratic rule'.[386] But progress is seen not so much as a conspiracy but as a bitter joke which acknowledges the absurdity of life :

> A perception of tremendous ridicule in the whole scene, affected [Rob...] with a sort of mental inebriety. 387

The open-ended conclusion of the tale leaves Robin conscious of the paradoxical nature of his existence at a particular moment in history. He adopts 'a new subject of inquiry' to accommodate his newly acquired vision of life's uncertainty and inscrutability. Robin's view is exactly Hawthorne's:

> Sometimes when tired of it, it strikes me that the whole is an absurdity from beginning to end; but the fact is, in writing a romance, a man is always, or always ought to be, careening on the utmost verge of a precipitous absurdity, and the skill lies in coming as close as possible, without actually tumbling over. 388

Hawthorne's mythopoeic imagination finds an aesthetic form which will encompass the absurdities of contingent events in the 'timeless schema' of myth without dismissing the 'temporary inflammation'. As Robert Penn Warren has observed:

> If poetry is the little myth we make,
> history is the big myth we live, and
> in our living constantly re-make. 389

NOTES

1. OOH, p.4.
2. Ibid.
3. Cited by Cunliffe, M. The Literature of the United States p.4.
4. HSG, p.182.
5. TTT, pp.293-294.
6. Four Quartets. East Coker.
7. MF, p.312.
8. MOM, p.446.
9. OOH, p.4.
10. Lewis, R.W.B., The American Adam.
11. cf. Jonathon Edwards' doctrine that

    > An evil taint, in consequence of a crime committed twenty or forty years ago, remain[s] still, and even to the end of the world and forever. Cited by Lewis, op.cit., p.115.

12. SI, p.4. Preface.
13. Melville H., Hawthorne and his Mosses.
14. TTT, p.306. The anticipation of Conrad's 'heart of darkness' is noteworthy.
15. Ibid., p.220.
16. Ibid., p.225.
17,18 Ibid., p.226.
19. Ibid., p.221.
20. Ibid. p.222. Hawthorne's sketch (1837) anticipates Dickens' A Christmas Carol (1843).
21. Ibid., p.226.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Doubleday N. Hawthorne's Early Tales, pp.155-159.
25. TTT, p.220.
26. Ibid., p.225.

NOTES

1. OOH, p.4.

2. Ibid.

3. Cited by Cunliffe, M. The Literature of the United States p.4.

4. HSG, [illegible].

5. TTT, pp.293-294.

6. Four Quartets. East Coker.

7. MF, p.312.

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19. Ibid., p.221.

20. Ibid. p.222. Hawthorne's sketch (1837) anticipates Dickens' A Christmas Carol (1843).

21. Ibid., p.226.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Doubleday N. Hawthorne's Early Tales, pp.155-159.

25. TTT, p.220.

26. Ibid., p.225.

27. Ibid., p.226.

28. Baym N. The Shape of Hawthorne's Career, p.146.

29. TTT, p.225.

30. SL, p.36.

31. Thorslev. P. 'Hawthorne's Determinism: An Analysis'. NCF. 19(Sept. 1964) pp.141-157.

32. TTT, p.309.

33. Eliot T.S. 'The Hawthorne Aspect', in The Little Review (August 1918). Quoted by Kaul N. Hawthorne, p.4.

34. James H. Hawthorne op. cit. p.67.

35. Eliot op.cit., p.4.

36. In an illuminating article Gretchen Jordan has stressed the influence of Herder on Hawthorne's use of symbol and allegory. See 'Hawthorne's "Bell" : Historical Evolution Through Symbol'. NCF. 19 (Sept. 1964), pp.123-139.

37. Kant, I. The Critique of Pure Reason, p.27.

38. Ibid., p.29.

39. Meyerhoff, H. Time in Literature, p.21.
I am indebted here and thr[illegible]out this dissertation to Mr Meyerhoff.

40. Ibid., p.23.

41. Pearce, R.H. Historicism Once More, p.4
I am equally indebted to Mr Pearce for his study of historicism, both as a critical methodology and as an aesthetic vision. His chapters on Hawthorne are particularly helpful and illuminating.

42. Ibid., p.29.

43. Ibid., p.174.

44. Tanner T. City of Words p.15.

45. Ibid., p.16.

46. Pearce, op.cit., p.106.

47. Kermode, F., op.cit., p.111.

48. cf. Gaston Bachelard's definition of the house as 'the topography of our intimate being'. Cited by Dauber, K. in Rediscovering Hawthorne, p.65. The Custom House is an example of Hawthorne's recurrent theme of homelessness. See Male's chapter on 'The Search for a Home' in Hawthorne's Tragic Vision. Male observes:

> The search for a home in America has consistently been a physical manifestation of a psychological and spiritual pilgrimage, directed toward finding an identity and an integrated religious experience '. pp.10-11.

49. SL, p.5.

50. Ruskin, J. The Seven Lamps of Architecture, Works, VIII. p. 234.

51. SL, p.7.

52. Ibid., p.5.

53. Ibid., p.4.

54. Ibid., p.6.

55. Ibid., p.13.

56. Ibid., p.14.

57. Ibid., p.10.

58. Ibid., p.12.

59. Feidelson, C. op.cit., p.10.

60. SL, p.25

61. Ibid., p.37.

62. Ibid., p.9.

63. Ibid., p.11.

64. Ibid., p.25.

65. Ibid., p.16.

66. Ibid., p.25.

67. Ibid., p.34.

68. Ibid., p.9.

69. Ibid., p.12.

70. Van Deusen, Marshall. 'Narrative Tone in "The Custom House" and The Scarlet Letter' in Kaul, op.cit., p. 58.

71. SL, p.9.

72. Ibid., p.10.

73. Ibid., p. 27.

74. Ibid., p.12.

75. Ibid., p.43.

76. Ibid., p.27. This anticipates the ending of the novel: 'On a field, sable, the letter A, gules.' (p.264).

77. Ibid., p. 3.

78. A variation of the phrase from 'Alice Doane's Appeal' SI, p.280.

79. SL, p.33.

80. OOH, p.315.

81. SL, p.33. Edward M. Clay refers to the symbol of the scarlet letter as a 'time filament'. He notes that the Scarlet Letter and the Pyncheon House extend two centuries into the past; the history of Rome in The Marble Faun extends through millenia, while the Elixir in the unfinished romances promises the possibility of eternal life. Clay Edward M. 'The Dominating Symbol in Hawthorne's Last Phase' AL, 39(1968), pp.506-516.

82. HSG, p.1.

83. Lukàcs, G. The Historical Novel, p.42.

84. SL, p.36.

85. Quoted by Pearce, op cit., p.39.

86. HSG., p. 174.

87. SI, p.271.

88. Ibid., p.272. cf. Oscar Wilde in The Portrait of Dorian Gray and R.L. Stevenson in Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde who deal with similar issues. In each case the Gothic horror story is transformed into a psychological study of the alter ego.

89. Ibid., p.268.

90. Ibid., p.267.

91. Ibid., p.280.

92. I take my terms from Chatham, S. Story and Discourse p.150.

93. SI, p.277.

94. See Crowley, op.cit., p.49:

> In his developed frameworks he postulated a variety of particularized audiences and created interludes which dealt, on the one hand, with the relationship between the narrator and his audience, as well as that between the narrator and his art.

95. SI, p.267.

96. Ibid.

97. Bell, Michael Davitt. Hawthorne and the Historical Romance of New England pp.75-76.

98. SI, p.274.

99. Ibid., p.280.

100. Lukacs, op.cit., p.25.

101. Ibid., p.28.

102. Ruskin, J. Modern Painters Works, V. p.327.

103. Kermode, op cit., p.91.

104. The last stanza of Berkeley's poem 'Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America'. Cited by Kermode, op cit.,p.83.

105. Cited by Hoffman,D. Form and Fable in American Fiction, p.35.

106. Fussell,E. Frontier: American Literature and the American West. p.14ff.

107. Ibid.,p.131. Scott Fitzgerald has inherited this double view of the frontier tradition and the American dream. In The Great Gatsby he writes:

> ... the old island here that flowered once for Dutch Sailors' eyes - a fresh green breast of the new world. Its vanished trees, the trees that had made way for Gatsby's house, had once pandered in whispers to the last and greatest of all human dreams, for a transitory enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presence of the continent, compelled into an aesthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder.

108. SI,p.56.

109. BR,p.140.

110. Adams,H. The Education of Henry Adams, p.435.

111. SI, p.57.

112. Ibid.,p.52.

113. Ibid.,p.50.

114. Ibid.,p.51.

115. Ibid., p.55.

116. Ibid., p.53.

117. Ibid., p.58.

118. Ibid., p.64.

119. Ibid., p.68.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. SL, p.13.

123. Here I have been influenced by Bell, M.D. op.cit.

124. SI, p.160.

125. Cf. Vico who believed that the overall movement of history toward ideality, does not cancel the deviations, the contradictions, the retrogressive and paralogical movement of the human spirit in history. Discussed by Noon in Stevick, op.cit., p.306.

126. Leavis, Q.D. 'Hawthorne as Poet' in Kaul, op cit., p.28.

127. Kermode op.cit., p.91.

128. TTT, p.441.

129. Dauber, K. Rediscovering Hawthorne, p.53.

130. TTT, p.439.

131. Ibid., p.18.

132. Ibid., p.9.

133. Ibid., p.18.

134. Ibid., p.15.

135. Ibid., p.18.

136. Ibid., p.13.

137. Ibid., p.11.

138. Ibid., p.14.

139. Ibid., p.17.

140. Ibid., p.18.

141. Pearce, op cit., p.150.

142. TTT, p.69.

143. Ibid., p.77.

144. Ibid., p.85.

145. Ibid., p.87.

146. Ibid.,p.85.

147. Harry Levin draws attention to the same theme in William Austin's story of 'Peter Rugg, the Missing Man':

> Time, which destroys and renews all things, has dilapidated your house and placed us here... You were cut off from the last age, and you can never be fitted to the present. Your home is gone, and you can never have another home in this world.!
>
> The Power of Blackness, p.3.

148. TTT , p.95.

149. Ibid., p.69.

150. Ibid., p.92.

151. For the historical background see Doubleday,op cit.,pp.159-170.

152. TTT. p.72.

153. Cited by Trilling, L. Beyond Culture p.184.

154. TTT, p.92.

155. Ibid., p.88.

156. Ibid., p.79.

157. Ibid., p.103.

158. Fossum draws attention to Ilbrahim as a Christ-figure and a type of Ishmael.
Fossum, R.,Hawthorne's Inviolable Circle: The Problem of Time, p.46.

159. TTT, p.301.

160 MOM, p.393.

161. Ibid., p.390.

162. Ibid.,p.391.

163. Ibid., p.257.

164. Ibid., p.241.

165. Ibid., p.242.

166. Ibid., p.255.

167. Ibid., p.293.

168. MF,p.312.

169. In Huckleberry Finn Twain deals with a similar issue:

> These warn't real Kings and dukes... [but] you couldn't tell them from the real kind...Sometimes I wish we could hear of a country that's out of kings.

See also Faulkner's story 'The Odour of Verbena' in The Unvanquished.

170. Smith, Julian. 'Hawthorne's "Legends of the Province House"'. NCF 24 (1969-70) p.41.

171. TTT, p.276.

172. Ibid., p.301.

173. Ibid., p.294.

174. Ibid., p.298.

175. Ibid.

176. Fogle, R.H. Hawthorne's Fiction :The Light and the Dark p.12.

177. TTT, p.255.

178. Ibid., p.284.

179. Ibid., p.258.

180. Ibid., p.243.

181. Leavis in Kaul, op cit., p.29.

182. Vico, G. The New Science ed. Bergin and Fisch. p.352.

183. Cited in Matthiessen, op.cit, p.629.

184. See Levi-Strauss, C. Structural Anthropology, pp.211-217.

185. MOM, p.332.

186. Cited by Meyerhoff, op.cit., p.72.

187. Meyerhoff, op.cit., p.82.

188. Mann T., cited by Meyerhoff, op.cit., p.80.

189. Scholes and Kellogg. The Nature of Narrative, p.135.

190. cf. Levi-Strauss' conviction that man 'has always been thinking equally well' and that his mind does not 'progress' so much as discover new areas to which its 'unchanged and unchanging powers' may be applied. op.cit., p.230.

191. McPherson H. Hawthorne as Mythmaker. I have summarised McPherson's discussion of Hawthorne's mythological themes.

192. Lewis, R.B. op.cit., p.5.

193. Cited by Fussell, op.cit., p.1.

194. MF,p.434.

195. Tanglewood Tales ed. Lathrop G.P. Riverside Press. Boston (1891) Vol. IV pp.209-210.

196. TTT,p.54. See Doubleday for the historical background. op.cit.,pp.92-101.

197. Ibid.,p.54.

198. Ibid.,p.60.

199. Ibid.,p.55.

200. Ibid.,p.57.

201. Ibid.,p.55.

202. Ibid.,p.57.

203. Ibid.,p.56.

204. Ibid.,p.55.

205. Ibid.,p.56.

206. Ibid.,p. 57.

207. Ibid.,p.62.

208. Ibid.,p.56.

209. Ibid.,p.59

210. Ibid.,p.58.

211. Roy Male suggests that the Original Sin which causes the banishment from Eden is 'the mutual love of man and woman'. If this is so, it is also true, as he notes, that for Hawthorne mutual love is a means of redemption. Hawthorne's Tragic Vision, p.8.

212. Levin,H. op cit.,p.53.

213. MF, p.276.
There is an echo here of Marvell's 'The Garden' where the poet recognizes that time cannot be stopped.

214. TTT,p. 58.

215. Ibid.,p.61.

216. Ibid.,p.60.

217. Ibid.

218. Ibid., p.56.

219. Ibid., p.62.

220. Ibid., p.63.

221. Lukacs, op.cit., p.39.

222. TTT, p.66.

223. Ibid., p.54.

224. Ibid., p.66.

225. Ibid , p.67.

226. Ibid., p.66.

227. Waggoner, H. Hawthorne, A Critical Study, p.55.

228. SI, p.

229. Stanzel, F. quoting Robert Petsch. op.cit., p.32.

230. cf. Pearce, op.cit., p.19.
It is, I should say, this as-if commitment which obliges us to conceive of the literary work as necessarily at once of its time and ours.

231. Cited by Meyerhoff, op.cit., p.81.

232. Poulet, G. Studies in Human Time, p.328.

233. Fussell, op.cit., p.83.

234. T. Mann, cited by Meyerhoff, op.cit., p.81.

235. MOM, p.74.

236. Ibid., p.75.

237. Ibid., pp.74-75.

238. Ibid., p.83.
The anticipation of Conrad's 'Heart of Darkness' is once again striking. See note 14.

239. Ibid., p.75.

240. Ibid., p.74.

241. Ibid., p.80.

242. Ibid., p.82.

243. Ibid., p.83.

244. The question that has absorbed critics is whether Brown's experience is real or merely a dream. If real then his gloomy vision of mankind as irredeemably evil behind the hypocritical facade of complacent virtue and Puritanical self-righteousness is justified. If the events are the product of his 'diseased imagination' then his disgust in his fellowmen can be seen as an evil, sinful withdrawal from the 'magnetic chain of human sympathy'. Hawthorne solves the problem by insisting that there is no problem. It matters not whether it is a dream or reality - the effects are the same. Brown's darkly distrustful, suspicious and guilt-ridden view of depraved man is symptomatic of the attitude that generates the witchcraft horror. See Fossum, op.cit., (pp.52-56), Bell, M.D. op.cit.(pp.76-81) and Levin D. 'Spectre Evidence in Hawthorne's "Young Goodman Brown". AL, 34 (1962-63) pp.344-352.

245. MOM, p.80.

246. Ibid., p.76.

247. Ibid., p.82.

248. Ibid., p.80.

249. Ibid., p.77.

250. Ibid., p.78.

251. Ibid., p.83.
The verbal echo of Othello's despair is noteworthy:

Excellent wretch, perdition catch my soul,
But I do love thee, and when I love thee not,
Chaos is come again (Act III scene 3).

252. Ibid., p.84.

253. Ibid., p.83.

254. Ibid., p.84.

255. Ibid., p.87.

256. Ibid., p.88.

257. Ibid., p.87.

258. Poulet, op.cit., p.328.

259. MOM, p.89.

260. TTT, p.40.

261. MOM, p.87.

262. TTT, p.46.

263. See Askew, M.W. 'Hawthorne, The Fall and the Psychology of Maturity'. AL, 34 (1962-63) pp.335-343.

264. TTT, p.48.

265. Ibid., p.226.

266. SL, p.4.

267. Ibid., p.48.

268. Ibid., p.49.

269. Ibid., p.50.

270. Ibid.

271. Ibid., p.52.

272. Ibid., p.51.

273. Arvin, N. Introduction to Hawthorne's Short Stories Vintage Books. New York 1946.

274. Winters, Y. op.cit. p.21.

275. Askew, op.cit., p.336.

276. TTT, p.307.

277. Ibid., p.306.

278. Ibid., p.307.

279. Ibid., p.306.

280. Ibid., p.308.

281. Ibid., p.305.

282. Ibid., p.307.

283. Ibid., p.199.

284. Ibid., p.200.

285. Ibid., p.199.

286. Ibid., p.201.

287. Ibid.

288. Ibid., p.202.

289. Ibid., p.201.

290. Ibid., p.204.

291. Crews,F. The Sins of the Fathers, pp.28-29.

292. Ibid.,p.29.

293. Ibid.,p. 60.

294. Donohue, Agnes McNeil. 'From Whose Bourne No Traveller Returns' NCF,18(1963-64) pp.1-19.

295. MOM, p.350.

296. Ibid.,p.354.

297. Ibid.,p.337.

298. Ibid.

299. Cited by Pearce,op.cit.,p.106.

300. MOM,p.344.

301. Ibid.,p.350.

302. Fussell,op.cit.,p.16.

303. MOM,p.352.

304. Ibid.,p.351.

305. Ibid.,p.352.

306. Waggoner,op.cit.,p.86.

307. Fossum,op.cit., and Donohue,op.cit.

308. Birdsall,V.O. 'Hawthorne's Oak Tree Image' NCF,15. (1960-61) p.181ff.

309. Cited by Hawkes,T. op.cit., p.56.

310. MOM,p.351.

311. Ibid.,p.352.

312. Shakespeare,W. Hamlet Act III, scene 1.

313. Donohue,op.cit.,p.10.

314. MOM,p.336.

315. Ibid.

316. Ibid.,p.356.

317. Ibid.,p.338.

318. Birdsall,op.cit.,p.184.

319. Four Quartets. East Coker.

320. MOM,p.341.

321. Ibid.,p.345.

322. Ibid.,p.349.

323. Ibid.,p.348.

324. Ibid.,p.349.

325. Ibid.,p.357.

326. Ibid.,p.358.

327. Ibid.,p.349.

328. Ibid.,p.355.

329. The Abraham Story is a fitting paradigm for the existe: ial dilemma of modern man,Auerbach observes:

> The confused, contradictory multiplicity of events, the psychological and factual cross-purposes which true history reveals, have not disappeared in the representation but still remain clearly perceptible. op.cit. p.17.

330. Fossum,op.cit.,p.12.

331. Erikson Erik H. Ego Development and Historical Change.cited by Pearce,op.cit.,p.96.

332. Leavis in Kaul,op.cit.,p.38.

333. Pearce,op.cit.,p.102.

334. SI, p.228.

335. Pearce,op.cit., p.147.

336. Henderson,H. Versions of the Past,p.113.

337. Pearce,op.cit.,p.146.

338. Ibid.,p.156.

339. SI, p.208.

340. Ibid.,p.209.

341. Cited by Henderson,op.cit.,p.40.

342. SI,p.133.

343. Ibid., p.160.

344. HSG, p.38.

345. SI, p.209.

346. Ibid., p.222.

347. Ibid., p.214.

348. Ibid., p.219.

349. Ibid.,p.215.

350. Ibid.,p.222.

351. Ibid.,p.224.

352. Ibid.,p.211.

353. Ibid.,p.214.

354. Ibid.,p.218.

355. Ibid.,p.230.

356. Ibid.,p.222.

357. Ibid.,p.227.

358. Ibid.,p.223.

359. Ibid.,p.224.

360. Ibid.,p.217.

361. Ibid.,p.226.

362. Ibid.,p.221.

363. See Fogle,op.cit.,p.112. Doubleday,op.cit.,p.232.

364. SI, p.220.

365. Ibid.,p.211.

366. Ibid.,p.215.

367. Ibid.,p.223.

368. Ibid.

369. Ibid.,p.215.

370. Ibid.,p.210.

371. Ibid.,p.218.

372. Ibid.,p.217.

373. Ibid.,p.219.

374. Ibid.,p.220.

375. Ibid.,p.227.

376. Ibid.,p.228.

377. Ibid.,p.227.

378. Ibid.,p.228.

379. Ibid.,p.230.

380. Ibid.,p.228.

381. Ibid.,p.229.

382. Ibid.,p.230.

383. Ibid.,p.229.

384. Ibid.,p.228.

385. Ibid.,p.157.

386. Ibid.,p.159.

387. Ibid.,p.239.

388. Cited by Kermode,op.cit.,p.101.

389. Penn Warren's note to Brother to Dragons. Cited by Pearce,op.cit.,p.146.

CHAPTER 3

FUTURE PERFECT

> True poetry expresses one thing only, the torments of the hùman mind as it confronts the question of its destiny. 1

The quest for identity and knowledge leads not only backward into the forgotten or buried past, it also leads forward into the future. The search for origins becomes a search for ends; the pain of loss becomes the anguish of uncertainty. The elusiveness of the quest for the future is pronounced by the Man of Intelligence who tells the seeker of Tomorrow:

> This fugitive Tomorrow...is a stray child of Time, and is flying from his father into the region of the infinite . Continue your pursuit and you will doubtless come up with him; but as to the earthly gifts which you expect, he has scattered them all among a throng of Yesterdays. 2

Because tomorrow is so soon transformed into yesterday the most insistent intuition, and the most agonising, is of the inevitable decline of life, cosmic and human, from its genesis onwards. The compulsive quest for the perfect future, for the infinite and eternal, must always be seen ironically in the light of man's ultimate and irreversible destiny - death. In this chapter I will examine those stories in which man attempts to defy his mortal, time-bound destiny.

The man of Intelligence records the rich variety of quests:

> All these freaks of idle hearts, and aspirations of deep hearts, and desperate longings of miserable hearts, and evil prayers of perverted hearts, would be curious reading, were it possible to obtain it for publication. Human character in its individual developments - human nature in the mass - may best be studied in its wishes...There was an endless variety of mode and circumstance, yet withal such a similarity in the real ground-work, that any one page of the volume...might serve as a specimen of the whole. 3

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Hawthorne accommodates his readers: he offers a selection of quests for publication and provides a study of specimen cases as paradigms of his 'allegories of the heart'.

The young man in 'The Ambitious Guest' (1835) is driven by 'a high and abstracted ambition':[4]

> He could have borne to live an undistinguished life, but not to be forgotten in the grave. Yearning desire had been transformed to hope; and hope, long cherished, had become like certainty...When posterity should gaze back into the gloom of what was now the present, they would trace the brightness of his footsteps, brightening as meaner glories faded, and confess, that a gifted one had passed from his cradle to his tomb, with none to recognize him. 5

The vagueness of the quest underlines not only the mysterious journey of life from 'cradle' to 'tomb', but also the universality of the undefined quest itself. The guest is a nameless stranger, 'who travels a wild and bleak road'[6] in search of name and fame. Ironically he prophesies and almost ideates his own future in terms of death and anonymity:

> A nameless youth... passed through the Notch, by sunrise, and was seen no more. But I cannot die till I have achieved my destiny. Then, let Death come! I shall have built my monument. 7

From the first the ominous intimations of impending doom and elemental disaster throw an ironic light on the young man's ambition, and reveal the vanity and futility of all dreams that dwell in the future and ignore present contingencies. In contrast to the stranger, the family have created a circle of warmth, happiness and domestic unity. The blaze of the hearth and the 'herb, heart's-ease'[8] have protected them against the pitiless cold, the dreary blast, and the dangerous avalanche. In a sense the family has achieved the 'Earthly Immortality'[9] desired by the ambitious stranger: not by seeking the future, but by living

creatively and contentedly in the present they have managed to survive the hazards of their physical environment. The young man disturbs their equilibrium reminding them that

> it is our nature to desire a monument, be it slate, or marble or a pillar of granite, or a glorious memory in the universal heart of man. 10

Foolishly tempted by thoughts of the future they quit their domestic security and share the stranger's fate. The irony that inheres in the story is that no one receives his desired monument, but a 'nameless sepulchre'[11] of snow. However, the family is immortalized in a legend, while the death and existence of the young man remain a mystery. This final irony lies in the concluding question: 'Whose was the agony of that death-moment?'[12] The ambitious guest's eschatological obsession with the future has negated his ontological presence in time.

The doubleness of the quest, the optimistic urge on the one hand to strive for betterment, and the intuition on the other that such striving is at best futile and at worst entropic, characterized the social and historical climate of the nineteenth century. The scientific and technological inventions of the Industrial Revolution promised a better and brighter future. Frederic Harrison declared that 'it is the age of great expectation and unwearied striving after better things',[13] and Macaulay commented on the great benefits of scientific advances:

> It has lengthened life; it has mitigated pain; it has extinguished diseases;...it has extended the range of the human vision; it has multiplied the power of the human muscles; it has accelerated motion; it has annihilated distance; it has facilitated intercourse, correspondence, all friendly offices, all despatch of business; it has enabled man to descend to the depths of the sea, to roar into the air, to penetrate securely into the noxious recesses of the earth, to traverse the land in cars which whirl along without horses, and the ocean in ships which run ten knots an hour against the wind. These are but a part of its fruits, and of its first fruits. <u>For it is a philosophy which never rests, which has never attained, which is never perfect</u>. <u>Its law is progress</u>.'14 (Italics mine)

And if, as Macaulay observed, 'the history of England is emphatically the history of progress',[15] so much more so is the history of America with its progressive frontier spirit and its faith in the millenial potency of the New World. The Romantic quest for unattainable perfection manifests itself in America as transcendental idealism and as an aspiring national materialism. The two branches of perfectionism, the idealistic and the materialistic, combine to engross 'all the religious fervour of the race'.[16] The American 'national watchword [is] "go ahead"',[17] and in The Ancestral Footstep Hawthorne writes:

> Let the past alone: do not seek to renew it; press on to higher and better things; and be assured that the right way can never be that which leads you back to the identical shapes that you long ago left behind. Onward, onward, onward. 18

Most of the new scientific findings had some bearing on the nature, measurement and direction of time. As a geologist proclaimed in 1855:

> The leading idea which is present in all our researches, and which accompanies every fresh observation, the sound of which to the ear of the student of Nature seems continually echoed from every part of her works, is -
> Time! - Time! - Time! 19

The unprecedented mechanical progress facilitated the speed of the forward movement in time and space. Hawthorne describes the steam-engine as 'the type of all that go ahead'[20] and the processional tale with its forward linear structure is an appropriate literary analogue of the locomotive. In a series of processionals Hawthorne describes man's compulsive flight into the future. Subsequently, Darwin's theory of evolution confirmed the corporeal and mental progression of the human species towards perfection. Biological perfectibility was matched by social perfectibility, and 'the tendency in every man to ameliorate his condition'[21] became the order

of the day. Democracy strengthened its foothold as an advanced political ideology, and the doctrine of meliorism was everywhere evident in the vast number of transcendental reformist and philanthropic movements.

This mood of confident optimism, however, had its critics. Even one of the apologists for biological evolution, T.H. Huxley, admitted that 'retrogressive is as practicable as progressive metamorphosis'.[22] This idea was confirmed by the opponents of evolution, Cuvier and his pupil, Agassiz, the American paleontologist who observed that

> Qualities both good and bad are dropped as well as acquired, and the process ends sometimes with the degradation of the type, and the survival of the unfit rather than the fittest. 23

Moreover, the evolutionary doctrine of the survival of the fittest had its negative moral aspects. Before Conrad, Hawthorne expressed his concern with the moral ambiguity of a progress linked to self-interest and the imperialistic exploitation of uncivilised peoples.[24] Scientific advances had failed to bring about an equivalent moral progression; they had in fact reduced the creative impulses in man to mechanical automatism. Improved transport had heightened man's restless speculation but had not enriched the spiritual or cultural quality of his life which had become increasingly barren and materialistic. Appalled by the increasing mechanization and fragmentation of human life into senseless multiplicity, Henry Adams regarded the dynamo as the most appropriate symbol for the plight of modern man. The quintessential energy of the dynamo which had supposedly enabled man to reach the zenith of civilized life was also to bring about the decline of civilisation. Clearly Adams was translating into sociological terms the second law of thermodynamics and the concept of entropy which scientifically confirmed the irreversible